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THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

CARL E. PERSON



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THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

DEDICATED TO THE STRIKERS
AND THEIR FRIENDS WHO PRO-
TESTED WHEN THE PRINCIPLES
OF ORGANIZED LABOR WERE
SURRENDERED BY LABOR LEAD-
ERS TO THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL
AND HARRIMAN RAILROADS IN
THE STRIKE OF 1911 AND 1915, IN-
CLUSIVE.

Sincerely,

CARL E. PERSON.

Chicago,
February, 1918.

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

A Story from the Illinois Central
and Harriman Lines Strike of
1911 to 1915 Inclusive

BY

CARL E. PERSON

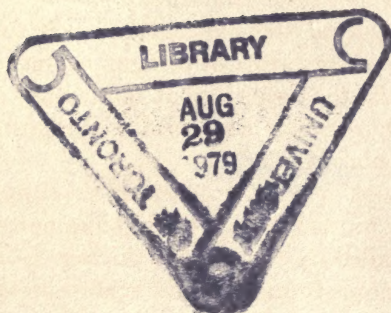


Published by
THE LAKE PUBLISHING COMPANY
(Not Inc.)
CHICAGO

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By CARL E. PERSON

Published February, 1918



FOREWORD

OF ALL the strikes that played the circuit of industrial unrest, the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike took its place in history by itself. It was different than other strikes for it played the crisis with thirty-eight thousand men on the industrial stage for forty-five continual months at an estimated expense to the railroad companies of three hundred and fifteen million dollars.

Some of the Labor Leaders who commanded the men to strike stood in the pulpits and cried "*let there be war and war to the finish,*" with this pledged their last dollar, then turned traitors to those they commanded to strike by returning to the same pulpits where they had sung the song of *Victory with no Compromise*, preaching peace at any price. Confronted with these copperheads from the very ranks of leadership the strike still played its drama for forty-five continual months.

No other strike has played the industrial circuit for this length of time. With this large army of men, under such great expense to those who claim the ownership of the factory altars, while deserted by the labor leaders who cried in the storm that they were themselves responsible for.

The purpose of this book is to convey some of the suppressed information of the strike to the students of the labor movement, and those who were swindled by the traitors during the strike. Some of this information was brought to the surface in the historic convention of the Railway Department at Kansas City, Mo., in 1916. There it photographed so shocking that behind the closed doors of the convention it was ordered buried with the resolutions that the rank and file back home, who paid the price, were too ignorant to understand it. After the suppression of the minutes at the Kansas City convention, the only remaining method by which this suppressed information could

reach those who desired to have it, was through the publication of this book.

In writing this story I have frequently added the original correspondence. This with the desire of making the point clear to the reader and to back my statements up with undeniable facts. Many of the letters used as evidence have contained personal and confidential matter not relating to the subject in question. All such matter has been omitted from the correspondence used in this book.

This book is not written to satisfy the personal feelings of the writer, but to satisfy the wishes of a large number of those who were swindled and deserted by the Labor Leaders during the strike. It is to be expected that the element who profits by calling and recalling strikes for financial considerations will seriously object to the information contained in *The Lizard's Trail*. Should they not, the writer would be very much disappointed, for one of the main reasons for its publication is to make their operations in the future more difficult.

The honest labor leader is a necessity to the progress and welfare of the labor movement. Just as honest leadership is essential to the welfare of any other movement. This book is not published for the purpose of injuring the standing of the honest labor leader, but for the purpose of helping to ferret out of the labor movement the Labor Traitor who sometimes operates under the cloak of authority in an official capacity of the labor movement. Those who so frequently came to the surface during the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines.

Do not commence reading this book with the expectation of reading a book written and prepared in compliance with the art of perfect English. This will be a sad disappointment to you. This book is not written to please the critics of ancient arts or those who have mastered the science of logic. It is written in the language of the workshop for those who work. Written for them that they might have additional information to fortify themselves with as they stand in the trenches, in the War of the Classes, making the world safe for democracy.

CARL E. PERSON.

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PART I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL AND HARRIMAN LINES STRIKE, AND SOME OF THE FORCES AT WORK UNTIL JULY, NINETEEN- TWELVE.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEDERATION

ONE of the history-making events in the first administration of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States was the appointment of a committee unique in the annals of both capital and labor. It was known as the United States Commission on Industrial Relations and was made up of individuals experienced in both phases of the industrial life of the nation. Numerous differences between employers and employees were made subjects of investigation previous to September, 1915. This volume is particularly interested in but one of these.

On the seventh of that month the commission began a searching inquiry into the causes as well as the results of the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. In the final report of the Commission, Volume 10, pages 9699 to 10066, inclusive, some interesting admissions concerning the strike are printed.

Julius Kruttschnitt, President of the Harriman Lines, was one of the men to give valuable testimony; so was C. H. Markham, President of the Illinois Central. Both these distinguished railroad men agreed upon one point. They declared unreservedly that the chief objection they had to a well-

organized Employees' System Federation was that it might become too powerful. There was danger, said both the gentlemen—said it quite frankly and unaffectedly—that such organization might force the railroads to grant such concessions as the Federation asked. "Undoubtedly," said the gentlemen, "a federation of employees is in a much better position to force issues than is an individual craft."

"And therefore," substantially stated Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt, "railroads do not favor the consolidation of shop employees for any purpose whatsoever."

What was true at the time of the hearing by the U. S. Commission was equally true during 1911, when the strike of the 38,000 employees of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines was in progress. Most consistently both these gentlemen refused to confer with any and all committees representing the striking employees.

The Illinois Central favored the idea of federation of shop employees, when engaged in work that was in the interest of the railroad company. This company first organized their shop employees into a federation in 1907 according to the testimony of Machinist Business Agent H. J. Molloy before the commission (page 9846 of report).

Several conventions were held for the purpose of developing a sentiment among their employees not to cash their pay checks during the panic of 1907. Again in 1910 the Illinois Central sent their federated committee to storm the state legislature, and call on Governor Deneen requesting him to allow an *increase in freight rates to the railroads operating in Illinois*.

A city ordinance was being considered by the City Council of Chicago compelling the Illinois Central to electrify its lines within the city limits. Again the federated committee was sent down to storm the City Hall in behalf of the Illinois Central. At the request of the railroad officials, a committee representing the Federation of Shop Employees was elected on the hospital boards at various terminals of the Illinois Central.

Mr. Charles H. Markham before the commission corroborated Business Agent Molloy's statement concerning the Federation as organized by his company.

The Illinois Central *taught their men that through a federated effort greater results could be accomplished.* Inasmuch as the individual crafts had been unsuccessful in procuring any results in relation to the demands they were making for an increase in wages and changes in working conditions, they adopted the company's idea of federation. Organization was fairly begun at Memphis, Tenn., May 1, 1911.

Business Agent J. G. Taylor, representing the Machinists on the Pacific system of the Harriman Lines before the Commission, states on page 9874 of the U. S. Industrial Report:

"When the tinnners asked for a conference in 1909 they were refused; had a strike and lost. In 1910 the machinists on the Pacific system asked for a conference, and were refused. The boilermakers asked for the same thing and then the demand for the System Federation became general."

Therefore, we find that the men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines could get nothing through craft organization. Had they desired "to press their demands" they could do nothing but strike. Realizing this, they made up their minds that if it was necessary to strike, a federated effort in striking would give them the best results.

Mr. Charles H. Markham of the Illinois Central charged his men with failure to give his company the thirty days' notice in requesting a conference as stipulated in the then existing different craft agreements. However, it was fully understood that Mr. Markham only used the thirty-day clause as an excuse for not granting his men a conference. In a statement before the Commission, Vol. 10, page 9699, Mr. Markham states that "*we had made up our minds that the Federation had to be fought regardless of cost.*" Mr. Markham's company, however, was notified through the officers of the Illinois Central Federation shortly after May 1, 1911, when it was organized at Memphis, Tenn., that a committee representing all of

the shop crafts desired a conference with the Illinois Central Railroad Company. This notice was served on the company some five months prior to the calling of the strike through the Federation officers, J. F. McCreery, President, and W. E. Bowen, Secretary.

The Harriman Lines Federation was organized in Salt Lake City in the early part of June, 1911, by delegates representing the different shop crafts on the Harriman Lines. Subsequent to this convention of the Federation, the management of the Harriman Lines was notified as to the action taken by the shop crafts, and a conference was requested between the company and committee representing the Federation.

In conjunction with the request made by the Harriman Line Federation upon the company for a conference, the different crafts that prior to the Salt Lake convention of the shop crafts had standing agreements with the company also notified the management of the Harriman Lines, calling attention to the thirty-day clause in their standing agreements, and to their desire in the future to meet the management through the federated committee, representing all crafts on the Harriman Lines. The testimony of Machinists' Business Agent Samuel H. Grace, representing the machinists on the Union Pacific, Oregon Short Line, and Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company., of the Harriman Lines, before the Industrial Commission, Vol. 10, page 9863, verified the above mentioned statement. The testimony showed that, as far as the shop men on the Harriman Lines were concerned, the thirty-day clause in their craft agreements was complied with.

Federated agreements had been signed on twelve railroads up to the settlement of the Missouri Pacific strike in 1910, the victory on the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain Railroad having been accomplished because of the federated effort of the shop crafts. This strike was first called by the machinists, and after being out for several months they were assisted by all other crafts employed on the Missouri Pacific and Iron

Mountain systems. Shortly after the federated effort was introduced in this strike, a settlement was reached, and it has been generally conceded that the Missouri Pacific strike was won because of the fact that all shop crafts came to the assistance of the machinists who first went on strike. Therefore, the victory was accomplished through federation.

The *Blacksmiths' Journal* for October, 1911, page 13, gives us some information relative to the success of labor organizations in procuring a hearing before railroad managements shortly before the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes. It makes the following statement:

Following the Harriman trouble, reports come that the M., K. & T. (Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad) are refusing to meet the Federated committees. The carmen are now on strike and conditions are very serious, and the other crafts are in a gloomy mood on account of what they think is an arbitrary stand taken by the company.

The Kanahwa & Michigan Railroad employees are experiencing the same difficulty.

The superintendent of Motive power on the C. & E. I. (Chicago & Eastern Illinois Railroad), after meeting the committees, insolently remarked that they had better take their proposed agreements home and frame them.

The foregoing was written and printed before the inception of the strikes on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, and should give us some idea relative to prevailing conditions in the labor market during the month of September, 1911, about the time that the strikes on the Illinois Central and Harriman lines were called.

With the passing of the year 1910, the average man who understood the labor movement was convinced that the time of individual craft strikes were of the past. They could no longer deliver the goods. This had been demonstrated on the Santa Fe, the Erie, the B. & O., the L. & N., the Great Western and on many other roads where failure was the result of individual craft effort. The Iowa Central, the Denver & Rio Grande, and the Missouri Pacific strikes, which had played their part in the social crisis prior to the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike, were successful in securing some kind

of settlements because of the fact that there was a joint or federated effort among the shop crafts involved.

Craft agreements were in existence between the men on the Illinois Central and the Harriman Lines, but for three years they had procured nothing to speak of through these agreements. The time was approaching, and in fact had already arrived, on the Pacific system of the Harriman Lines where the company would not even grant the individual crafts a conference. There was only one course for the men to pursue, and that was to adopt the line of action that had given those who had been confronted with the same opposition the best results.

The testimony of railroad managers and labor leaders alike, before the Industrial Relation hearing of Sept. 7, 1915, established the fact that the men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines were forced to organize into a federation, because of their failure to get anything through craft organizations. They were forced to go on strike to establish respect for themselves and for the federated movement on the twelve roads that had already signed federated agreements. Had not the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines men put up a fight for federation, the federated movement would have depreciated on the roads where it was established. It would have been deprived of its respectability before the managements of those roads where the men hoped to have it established in the future.

The Illinois Central and Harriman men had to strike to maintain the few bettered conditions that they had procured through many years of effort, or, like cowards, surrender them. They were fully aware of the fact that to maintain the something called honor among those in organized labor, it was necessary to strike, even though that strike could not be won, or the Federation recognized by the company. It was therefore necessary to strike in order that the men on some of the other railroads might be relieved of going on strike when they in the future had occasion to make demands for the federated

systems in handling their legislation with their respective managements. It was the full duty of the men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines to act decisively, because it was on these roads that the right to organize as a Federation was first challenged.

The men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines were too big to "pass the buck" to the shoulders of their fellowmen. Instead they met the responsibility and made the sacrifice so that those who were scheduled to arrive upon the rocky roads of progress might be able to travel free without being hampered by the precedent of cowardice. Clearly, then, it was the duty of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines men to strike.

The attitude of Mr. Charles H. Markham of the Illinois Central and Julius Kruttschnitt of the Harriman Lines, in relation to System Federation, was very well established prior to the strike of 1911, as well as during the strike and at the hearing before the Commission appointed by the President. At no time did they change their position as to the Federation when directed toward the interest of the shop employees.

The railroads will be operated in the interest of "shrewd finance" as long as they are successful in procuring men of the Markham-Kruttschnitt type to serve them as officers. They do not go to bed and wake up with illusions that have altered their decisions, but boldly stand out true to their determination, that might makes right. They fully realize that if they want to establish their conception of what is right, they must be mighty enough to do so.

Among the labor leaders who had jurisdiction over the men involved in the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike, there were but few of them who stood as true to the federated movement as Mr. Markham and Mr. Kruttschnitt were true to the stockholders of the railroads.

Inasmuch as these labor leaders were not questioned regarding their attitude towards the Federation and the men on strike during the Industrial Relation Investigation of the Illinois

Central and Harriman Lines strike, we will so review their actions that it may be understood that the men involved in the strike were not only engaged in putting up a fight against the railroads for federation, but against that smiling individual as well who sometimes is garbed with the cloak of authority and known as an International officer, or "business agent," who can perform so artistically under the spot lights that he secures the admiration of half-baked thinkers, whose thoughts never penetrated deeper than upon the painted likeness of a burlesque star.

In order that we may best determine the duties of the International officers toward the men who went on strike, we shall first make an effort to find the attitude of the different International Presidents and their organizations involved in the federated movement as organized on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines prior to the calling of the strike on Sept. 30, 1911.

OFFICERS DEMANDING THE MEN TO STRIKE

Upon the failure of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines System Federation to procure a conference with the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, through their officers and committees as elected at the convention of the federated shop crafts at Memphis, Tenn., May 1, 1911, and Salt Lake City, Utah, June 5, 1911, the controversy was turned over to the respective International officers of the crafts affiliated with the system federations. None of the International Presidents had prior to this time manifested any objections to the organization of the Federation, but had authorized the signing up of twelve federated agreements on twelve different railroads, prior to the time the matter concerning the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines Federation was placed with them for disposition.

A strike vote among the men involved on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines was taken, to determine to what

extent the men would go to enforce their demand for the recognition of the Federation. This vote carried for a strike by 97 per cent of the men involved. The International officers now, fortified by the strike vote, requested a conference with the railroad management for the purpose of securing recognition for the federated committees.

The International officers who were handling the Illinois Central end of the controversy were making their headquarters in Chicago. All of them had a strike vote with which to back up their demands. All organizations, save one, had through their respective executive boards sanctioned the strike. The exception was the machinists. On Sept. 12, 1911, President James O'Connell of the Machinists notified the Chicago delegation of International officers that the machinists would take action on the strike situation at the coming convention at Davenport, Sept. 18, 1911.

A circular issued by the Chicago delegation of International officers handling the Illinois Central matter, dated Sept. 12, 1911, included the following statement:

"Upon being advised by President James O'Connell that the machinists would take no action until the Davenport convention, Mr. Al. Hinzman of the Boilermakers, made a motion, which was seconded by Frank Paquin of the Carmen to submit another strike vote to the men on the Illinois Central."

In this strike vote they proceeded to ask a lot of "ifs" and laid the cause of the delay directly to the machinists' organization, because they had not sanctioned the strike. This strike vote carried with it the four specific questions, First: "Will you strike to enforce recognition of the System Federation?" Second: "Will you strike if the machinists' organization refuses to sanction a strike?" Third: "Will you strike regardless of financial assistance?" Fourth: "Should the demand of the company that the thirty days' notice be served be complied with?"

This strike vote was sent out, and met with much ridicule from the men all over the system, and at many terminals on

the system the men refused to take this vote, sending the ballots back to their International officers, in their blank forms, and at other places they were destroyed with much contempt. The men took the stand that they had already taken one strike vote, which had been taken in compliance with the constitutions of their respective organizations, and that the International officers had this vote and knew what the men would do in the event of a strike. This vote was to be returned on Oct. 10, 1911, but, when they discovered that the men were going to stand by the vote they had first taken, this second attempt was abandoned. There were, however, some underlying reasons for submitting the second strike vote. It was possibly sent out for the purpose of discouraging the men, or for the purpose of causing a split between the machinists and the rest of the trades by showing the machinists up as the "yellows" among the shop trades.

The most important question in this strike vote was the third question—"Will you strike regardless of financial assistance?" Every International organization had a constitution in which there was a clause governing strikes and strike benefits. These constitutions can only be altered by a referendum or a convention. The men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines had no right to change the laws governing strike benefits of their respective organizations either to favor or disfavor themselves, and the International officers of the organizations who submitted a constitutional question to a handful of men of their craft organization, such as those who were within the jurisdiction of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, which was only a small fraction of those who must be considered when changes in constitutions take place, were actuated by impure motives. Why was this important question not asked on the first strike ballot? To submit such a proposition to the men who were willing to go the limit, who were willing to sacrifice their jobs when instructed to do so, and then again, ask them to sacrifice their little six dollars a week as strike benefits was absurd.

There is, however, no record of any session being held among the International officers where they submitted a vote among themselves on a proposition of "Should they remain and serve the interests of their organizations without a salary?" "Would they join the men in this fight for the principle that was involved in the federated movement, without pay, and surrender their monthly allowance?" They overlooked the importance of acting on this proposition among themselves.

The fourth question in this strike vote was, "Should the demand of the company, that the thirty days' notice be served, be complied with?" Vice President P. J. Conlon of the Machinists, who represented the machinists in the Chicago delegation of International officers, was a strong advocate of giving the Illinois Central the thirty days' notice, when it was a fact that the Illinois Central Company was notified through the officers of the Federation shortly after their convention on May 1, 1911, some four months previous to the time of this meeting of International officers in Chicago.

The shop trades on the Illinois Central agreed at their convention in Memphis to handle their negotiations with the company jointly or in compliance with federated law. Therefore, anyone who advocated individual negotiations with the company subsequent to the Memphis convention did not comply with the idea of federation. Further, why should the Illinois Central Railroad Company be asked to recognize the Federation, if the shop trades affiliated did not or would not recognize this Federation themselves? There was only one legitimate method by which to reach the company after the Federation had been organized, and that was through the Federation and its officers. The Federation officers had notified the company and served the thirty days' notice on them.

The Illinois Central through the newspapers made an effort to confuse the public; a method practiced by all corporations when engaged in a strike with its employees. They had much to say concerning the thirty days' notice clause before and after the strike had taken place. The companies hoped to

use this in confusing the men as well as the public, in order to play for more time in which to secure strike breakers, gun-men and guards, and to get their motive power and rolling stock in the best possible shape, so that they would be better equipped to put up an effective fight when the strike took place.

To prove that the companies were getting ready for the strike and had prepared for it for some time, and were taking advantage of any delay that was granted them, Business Agent W. F. Evans of the Machinists in Denver, Colo., in his report written before the strike was called, and published on page 1057, October issue of the *Machinists' Journal*, states in part:

"The Union Pacific shops in Denver are now closed shops by a high board fence."

From this we can gather that the company was getting ready by fencing in their properties, and what they had done in Denver was done at many other terminal points on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. That the company was given ample time to get ready there is no question, inasmuch as they had several carloads of strike breakers for each terminal point, that arrived at the shops the night following the calling of the strike, and anyone that favored giving the company "more time" had but very little idea how strikes should be handled in the interest of those who must go on strike and pay the price.

After considerable effort the International officers, of whom President J. W. Kline of the Blacksmiths had been selected as Chairman, were granted a conference with Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt of the Harriman Lines, at San Francisco on Sept. 2, 1911. The entire Advisory Board of the Harriman Lines Federation was called to Frisco in conjunction with the International officers for Sept. 1, 1911. On Sept. 2, the meeting between the International officers and Mr. Kruttschnitt took place. In this meeting he stated that his company refused to meet the Federation committees and that he had been advised what the consequence would be.

The minutes of this meeting of Sept. 1, 1911, show that Mr. J. W. Kline, President of the Blacksmiths; J. A. Franklin, President of the Boilermakers; J. F. Ryan, President of the Carmen; J. D. Buckalew, Vice President of the Machinists, and J. D. Crane of the Sheet Metal Workers were the International representatives who conferred with Mr. Kruttschnitt. According to these minutes, all of the above mentioned Grand Lodge officers were strongly in favor of "pressing" their demands upon the company to the extent of a strike if necessary, in order to protect the national honor that was at stake and for the purpose of forcing the company to concede to the demands as presented by the general officers to Mr. Kruttschnitt.

During this meeting the International officers and the Advisory Board of the Harriman Line Federation at Frisco were notified that the Machinists' Executive Board had not sanctioned a strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, and would not take any action on same until the Davenport convention which would go in session on Sept. 18, 1911. Therefore, President J. A. Franklin of the Boilermakers; M. F. Ryan, President of the Carmen, and J. D. Buckalew, Vice President of the Machinists, returned East via the Machinists' Convention at Davenport, for the purpose of putting before this convention the urgent necessity of the convention endorsing the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines.

Several volumes of collected testimony could be printed relative to the high pressure speeches, statements and letters conveying the attitude of such distinguished gentlemen as J. D. Buckalew, J. A. Franklin and M. F. Ryan, and inasmuch as we are fully prepared to prove upon subsequent pages that they played their part in "trimming the strikers" by failing to recognize the Federation themselves. Their speeches at the Davenport Convention of the Machinists are quoted in full. For reference see Davenport Convention Proceedings, Sept. 18, 1911, page 103, paragraph No. 6.

The chair then introduced President Ryan (of the Carmen), who said in part:

"I want to say that I appreciate the fact that it is very necessary and advantageous to have funds to finance a strike, but there isn't any organization in the federation of these lines that can finance a strike at this time, but, my friends, do we propose to let it go out to the railroads, to the general public and the employers all over the country, that because we haven't funds to pay men strike benefits, that we will sacrifice our rights as union men? I say for the men that I represent that we will stand and fight for the principles of unionism, even though we haven't one dollar to pay our men. (Prolonged applause.) He said he had met Mr. Kruttschnitt on the Pacific Coast and had told him that it was the treatment received by the men that had caused the organization of the Federation, and that his men had been anxious to strike for some time, but that he had talked for peace, and had managed to hold them off until after a meeting could be had with the Executive Board of this convention. This was a movement in which we must all stand together. I want to say to you that the organization I represent will stand by you and fight, win or lose, and if we win, we will all have glory together, and if we go down, let us all go down fighting for the principles of unionism, and as one body." (Loud applause.)

President Ryan of the Carmen made the above speech on Sept. 26, 1911. Bear in mind that this was before the strike was called. Shortly after the strike, it was said that the strike was ill-advised and caused by "certain unbalanced agitators." Is it not possible that Mr. Ryan himself was one of these unbalanced agitators? As soon as he got into the strike that he was so anxious for, he commenced to sing the soft song of the "*lost cause*." This we will endeavor to show when we arrive at the place in our narrative where we feel called upon to enlarge upon developments after the strike was called.

Page 104, Machinists' Convention Proceedings, 1911, dated Sept. 26th, states the chair then introduced President Franklin of the Boilermakers, who said in part:

"I did not expect to talk on the question. I fully realize that it is the most important proposition that we have ever been called upon to handle. The principles of our organization are at stake. The action of the companies has driven the men into a sympathetic Federation. Our men have been discriminated against, and if we neglect to act now we will not have an opportunity in the future. I do not believe that we can afford to back down on the proposition. None of us has ever had an agreement with the Harriman Lines that has been observed, and if we lie down at this time we might just as well take our charters from our walls. I would not attempt to advise you, but you must realize as fully as we

do the seriousness of the situation and it is for you to decide in the interest of your organization, and for the principles of trade unionism, what you will do in the case; whether you will permit the companies to scatter us and drive us apart, or whether we will stand together and united." (Loud and enthusiastic applause.)

If agitators were responsible for the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike, may we not count Mr. Franklin, President of the Boilermakers, as one of the "enthusiastic comrades?"

Page 104, Machinists' Convention Proceedings for 1911, the chair then introduced President O'Sullivan of the Sheet Metal Workers and Pipemen, who said in part:

"Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I believe that presidents Ryan and Franklin have about covered the situation. There is no craft in the Federation that can afford to separate itself from all organizations involved. I am glad to have had an opportunity of placing my organization on record as being entirely and unchangeably attached to the idea of the federated trades movement, and in the present instance we are with you to a man." (Loud and enthusiastic applause.)

President O'Sullivan of the Sheet Metal Workers and Pipemen did not make the trip to the Coast with the other International Presidents. But from his above quoted Davenport speech, it seems that President O'Sullivan favored the strike, and admitted that the cause of Federation was at stake and had to be fought for.

On page 104, Machinists' Convention Proceedings, 1911, Vice President J. D. Buckalew is quoted as follows:

Vice-President Buckalew said that he had been on the Coast, that he knew the spirit of the men; that if this movement was not supported, then it would be equivalent to severing our connections with the federated trades, not only on the Harriman Lines, but all other lines. As to government interference, he did not fear it. We know that it has no sympathy with us. He said that he believed we had no right to order the men back at Memphis, Tenn.; that we could not order back either the carmen or the boilermakers, and if the machinists were ordered back they would not go back while other trades were out. He said he hoped the convention would not refer the matter to the G. E. B., but would assume the responsibility and act on this matter.

The Memphis situation that Vice President Buckalew of the Machinists refers to in his talk before the convention was

the grievance that had developed at Memphis, Tenn. Being unable to get the matter settled, the Federated Trades struck at Memphis on the 25th of September, 1911, some few days before the strike was sanctioned by the Machinists' convention. Buckalew put up a good fight for federation and stuck long after the federated movement had been deserted by others who made flowery speeches at this convention in favor of calling the strike. But as the cold, crude breezes of time played on Jack Buckalew, his ideals and dreams of the Federation faded as the green leaves fade before the autumn winds.

On page 105, Machinists' Convention Proceedings, 1911, Vice President William Hannon of the Machinists, who later handled the strike on the Southern Pacific, is quoted as saying:

"The grandest part of the discussion is that it has centered on the question of System Federation. It was a question as to whether that idea was a dream or a realization." He alluded to the situation on the Santa Fe. Many delegates failed to realize that that strike was a strike of machinists not of federation. He believed that a strike on railroads to be successful should not be fought single handed, by any one trade. The System Federation had passed beyond the experimental stage, he said, and cited the Iowa Central and his work in connection therewith. He also referred to the D. & R. G. and other lines where the same results had been apparent; the strike in England which had given us an illustration of what could be done by the Federation.

Vice-President William Hannon of the Machinists favored the Federation and represented the Machinists on the Southern Pacific after the strike was called.

Mr. J. W. Kline, President of the Blacksmiths and Helpers, who was Chairman of the International officers in their conference with the railroad management in Frisco, commencing Sept. 1, 1911, according to the Advisory Board minutes of this meeting, shows that he stood out for federation with no compromise, calling attention to the fact that if it became necessary to go on strike in the interest of federation it must be a fight to the finish. In the *Blacksmith Journal* of September, 1911, page 11, under the caption of the "Federated Trades vs. the Harriman Lines," President J. W. Kline in

an extensive editorial covers the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines controversy, and says on page 13, paragraph 3:

"Unless the representatives of the shop federations are recognized by Thursday noon, Sept. 28th, 1911, the members of the Federation will have permission to quit."

In paragraph 4, page 13, he further states:

"This is the conclusion arrived at after repeated efforts by the International officers to get the Harriman managers to meet the federated crafts. We have done everything honorable. We can see no reasons why the federated crafts are treated with such utter contempt, as we have never shown a disposition to hold up any railroad company in our dealings with them heretofore; but on the contrary, the railroad companies have been arbitrary, they have held up the public in various ways. They have said, the public be D——d. They have defied the law. They have maintained national, state and municipal lobbies until it became so scandalous that the government was compelled at least to make a showing."

President James O'Connell and the Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists on Sept. 3, 1911, presented to the Machinists' convention then in session a report covering the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines Federation. A railway committee was elected, composed of Delegate R. S. Ward, Nicholas Ludwig, A. J. Nye, R. S. Craig and Thomas VanLear, who brought before the convention on Sept. 26th a report favorable to calling a strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines for recognition of the System Federation. (Reference, pages 1138, 1139, 1140 and 1141, November issue of *Machinists' Journal*.) On page 1140 of same issue states:

"A vote was taken upon the report of the Railway Committee, which was carried by a vote of 187 yeas, to 113 nays, many of the delegates who voted 'No' saying their only objections was the assessment of \$2.50, which the report contained."

We now find that the strike was sanctioned by the highest court of the Machinists' organization, its convention, and that this body legally and constitutionally called the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, and that it may be

understood that this convention was not an aggregation of erratic and irresponsible men, Mr. Arthur E. Holder, a former member of the Executive Board of the I. A. of M., in writing up the proceedings of the Davenport convention in the 1911 November issue of the *Machinists' Journal*, on page 1130, under the caption of "Synopsis of the Fourteenth Convention," page 1133, last paragraph, states:

"The fourteenth convention at Davenport, consequently met under new and untried conditions. The delegates who composed that body were big men, mentally and physically. Men of positive convictions and wonderfully resourceful in parliamentary maneuvers."

We therefore find that the convention, in Mr. Holden's opinion, was made up of delegates who were reasonably conservative and fully capable of analyzing the gravity of the situation.

President Wm. H. Johnston of the Machinists succeeded President James O'Connell after this convention. He was at the Davenport convention, having been elected as President some time prior to this convention, but did not take office until after the convention. On page 84 of the 1911 Machinists' Convention Proceedings, President Wm. H. Johnston makes a speech, in which he does not enter any objections to a strike being called on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines; the nearest he comes to the matter is when he states:

"You have many serious problems facing you. You have the great question of Federation of Railway Employes."

However, after the strike was sanctioned and called by the convention, it became President Johnston's duty to see that the action of this convention was carried out and the strike prosecuted as vigorously as possible, and if there was a principle involved so far as federation was concerned, it became the duty of President Johnston to protect that principle. But, unfortunately, he was one of the first ones to throw cold water on the federated movement, and became a useful agent in fighting those who were making and exercising their best and honest efforts to make the fight for federation as effective

as possible. This statement will be substantiated when we touch upon other subjects in the history of the strike.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks were organized on the Southern Lines of the Illinois Central, from New Orleans as far north as Centralia and East St. Louis, Ill. The clerks went on strike some few days before the federated strike was called. President J. J. Carrigan of the Railroad Clerks was an ardent advocate of the federated movement prior to the strike, but shortly after, like his colleagues, he became conspicuous by his absence.

The Painters were involved in the Illinois Central strike, and were represented by Vice President Clarence E. Swick. His International organization sanctioned the strike and paid strike benefits for a few months, and then hoisted up the white flag of surrender.

The Federal Labor Union, an organization under the direct jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, was directed to strike by authority of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. Strike benefits were paid its members for several months and then discontinued.

We have quoted statements of some of the "leading lights" who were the chief engineers of the different organizations composing the Federated Trades sufficiently, so that you can understand what their attitude was at the time, shortly before the strike was called, and so that you can now determine what their duty should have been after the strike was called.

We have satisfactory evidence that all of the International Presidents of the Federated Trades, with the exception of the Machinists, made statements, public and otherwise, demanding and instructing their constituents to back them up in their demands for the recognition of the Federation to the extent of going on strike. The Machinists, through their Davenport convention in 1911, made the same demand upon its membership on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. Passing events have shown that the rank and file proved loyal to those who represented them, that they complied with their

instructions when they were ordered to strike, and were determined to remain on strike forever rather than to surrender the principle of federation. The few who faltered and fell by the wayside were lured on by the treacherous smiles of the Grand Lodge officers, who at this time preached the brotherhood of man, the one for all and all for one, under the new religion of the federated movement, but who later appeared upon the circuit in burlesque fashion and charmed that weak element which in any great movement is always perched everlastingly on top of the fence.

THE CALLING OF THE STRIKE

The strike was called on Sept. 30, 1911. A small army of the International officials were assigned to the struck roads. J. D. Buckalew of the Machinists went to the Illinois Central, William Hannon of the Machinists to the Pacific Lines of the Harriman System, Walter Ames of the Machinists to the Northern Lines of the Harriman System. In conjunction with them were the already established business agents of the Machinists' District, H. J. Malloy of the Illinois Central, J. G. Taylor of the Pacific System and Samuel Grace of the Northern Lines of the Harriman System. From the Boilermakers, J. F. Schmidt was assigned to the Illinois Central, William Atkinson and J. P. Ryan to the Harriman Lines. From the Blacksmiths, Vice Presidents Roy Horn and C. H. Glover. From the Carmen, Vice President Frank Paquin, and from the Sheet Metal Workers, Vice President A. O. Hoard. International President J. W. Kline of the Blacksmiths and Vice President Al. Hinzman of the Boilermakers made several trips over the territory on strike. In addition to this, other Vice Presidents of International organizations involved covered the territory from time to time, especially during the early stages of the strike when it was rather popular to "drive in."

J. F. McCreary of Paducah, Ky., was President of the Illinois Central System Federation and W. E. Bowen of New

Orleans was its Secretary. E. L. Reguin of San Francisco was President of the Harriman Lines Federation, and John Scott of San Luis Obispo, Cal., was Secretary. The thousands of men who had gone on strike had left the cause of federation to these men, depending on them to see to it that the ideas and laws of the federated movement were complied with and lived up to. They were now confronted with handling a federated strike. They were face to face with that idea of federation that they had made such an urgent appeal and demand upon the companies to recognize, because of its economy, efficiency and harmony, therefore, it was their duty to see that the strike was not handled on a craft basis, which they claimed had to be discarded as far as doing business with the railroad managements was concerned. Unfortunate as it was, these federated officers were chloroformed by the International officers who drove in on them, and they, like the village rube who went to see the "Gay lights on Broadway" and was intoxicated by the smiles of a dancing beauty; so, too, these Federation officers were intoxicated by the deceiving smiles of those who should have assisted them to demonstrate that the strike could have been handled on a federated basis.

Surely if they refused to comply with the laws of federation insofar as their own organizations were concerned, they were inconsistent in asking the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines to recognize the Federation. Why should anyone be asked to comply with a law or regulation that its assumed adherents and sponsors refuse to recognize themselves?

So far as the Federation officers on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines were concerned, they proceeded to do nothing from the inception of the strike. The blue prints of their activity show that during the first few months they put out a news letter and later distributed some money to the different points on the systems—money that had been placed with them for distribution. They did this individually when it was their duty to see that all matters concerning the strike were handled through the Federation; that all men who were as-

signed to the strike zone as organizers should work through the respective Federations; that a centralized effort in the handling of the strike, in compliance with the federated idea, should be carried out; that all funds and strike benefits should be handled through the Federation on the respective systems and distributed to those who were on the line and devoting their time to the strike.

Here was a movement that demanded the railroad companies to recognize it to such an extent that it demanded from the railroads the handling of all the legislation of its affiliated craft organizations. And then these men surrendered all such demands in their relation with their International organizations. Yes, and surrendered them without the slightest protest. Had they at the inception of the strike made a demand upon the International Presidents for the recognition of the Federation, they would no doubt have had to fight them as they had to fight the railroads, as time proved we eventually had to do.

There is one thing that stands out like a mountain above a valley, and that is, that the strike suffered and eventually was *lost because* of the *failure* of the *International officers* to carry out the principles of federation. The failure on the part of the companies to recognize it was a secondary consideration. *Had the International Presidents recognized it*, and acted jointly, centralizing all their efforts in handling all that pertained to the strike—publicity, finance, organizers, speakers and all of that which is conducive to the best interests of strikes through the federated movement and its officers, *then the true strength of federation* would have been brought to bear on the companies. Instead of this, the Federation officers sat there either ignorant or afraid to protest against the Grand Lodge Presidents and those agents that robbed the Federation of its vitality, the inexhaustible vitality of collective action.

Instead of having a federated strike, there was a strike of craft organizations, some nine organizations handled from

nine different strike headquarters. The Machinists handled the machinist end of the strike from Washington; the Blacksmiths handled the blacksmiths' strike from Chicago; the Boilermakers handled the boilermakers' strike from Kansas City, Kan.; the Carmen from Kansas City, Mo.; the Sheet Metal Workers from Kansas City, Mo.; the Painters from Lafayette, Ind., and so on, the strike being directed from nine different places. Where was their joint action?

The International Vice-Presidents assigned to the strike zone were falling over each other. None of them knew where the rest of them were, or where they were going. If a difficulty arose in Chicago and those implicated were Carmen, and the Carmen's Vice President was in San Antonio, Tex., he had to come to Chicago, even though there were a half dozen International Vice Presidents of the other crafts on the ground in Chicago, who could have handled the situation just as well. But the "jurisdictional lines" were well established and none of them were going to infringe upon each other's jurisdiction to the extent of "federating" or complying with that popular song that was so frequently sung, but not adhered to, "The one for all and all for one." And while this drama was being played, the Federation officers, President J. F. McCreery of the Illinois Central Federation and President E. L. Reguin of the Harriman Lines Federation sat humbly by and did not make a protest. In fact the situation became so degenerate that some of the International Vice Presidents complained themselves.

I shall quote you the statement of Vice President William Hannon of the International Association of Machinists, who was assigned to the Pacific System of the Harriman Lines. In February issue of 1912 of the *Machinists' Journal*, page 142, he says:

"I have also heard of several meetings having been held, and others are to be called by the officers connected with the strike. Before we can get together with the officials and make arrangements for a conference it would, perhaps, be better for us to get together ourselves. Call a meeting of all of the officers handling the strike. I think it would be more

satisfactory to the rank and file, and a better understanding can be arrived at, as well as a better plan devised for the successful prosecution of the strike if it cannot be settled at this time."

William Hannon got this through in the *Machinists' Journal*, a closely censored publication. There is no question but that Hannon's report was "blue penciled," but from that part of it that slipped through he conveyed the idea that there was no understanding among the Grand Lodge officers and that they had not adopted a successful plan in handling the strikes. And this is at the late date of the month of February, 1912. Four months after the strike was called, and they did not yet know what they were doing! Mr. Hannon's report does not indicate that they are recognizing any portion of that Federation that International President M. F. Ryan of the Carmen, Mr. Franklin of the Boilermakers, or Mr. O'Sullivan of the Sheet Metal Workers held up before the Machinists' Convention at Davenport, Iowa, on the 26th day of September, 1911. Does it? Not much!

Let me quote you another distinguished member of the International Association of Machinists, Mr. James Somerville, from Moose Jaw, Sask., Can., Lodge No. 639, a delegate to the Davenport Convention and a member of the Executive Board of the I. A. of M., in discussing the Federation before the convention (Convention Proceedings for 1911, page 105, last paragraph), said:

"The Federation on the Canadian Pacific Railway was one of the first organized, and one of the first to be allowed in a federated strike; that while it could not be said to have been an unqualified success, it was not because of any weakness in the principle of federation, but more because the trouble had been precipitated before they were thoroughly organized; that the blame, if there was blame to be attached anywhere, was to be attached to the executive heads of the different organizations. It was demonstrated that the Federation was a good thing, and when the International heads of the different organizations took hold of it as they should there would be no further doubt about it."

From Delegate Somerville's remarks we can at least learn that the strike on the Canadian Pacific had suffered because of some fault due to the "executive heads" of the different organi-

zations, and as far as the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike is concerned there is no question about it.

The only people who recognized the Federation were the strikers themselves. At each terminal point they held their Federation meetings and co-operated in the handling of the strike locally. Working together on the picket lines and in committees, they had forgotten that they were machinists, carmen, pipe fitters or helpers, but jointly assisted and pressed in service their best efforts and complied with that which make federation as effective as possible. In financing the strike locally, everybody did the best to assist those who were most in need, and when possible compensated those who gave the movement their service and time, regardless of whether they were mechanics, helpers or laborers. Had the International officers done likewise the strike could have been both financed and won.

TRAITORS COMING TO THE SURFACE

As is customary in large labor disputes, the newspapers are very generous with space in which they play up the leaderships of the controversy in question. So, too, in 1911 the newspaper syndicates were generous with their two and three column cuts of those who had taken over the responsibility of making the final dispositions of the strike controversy. The newspapers in handling this publicity campaign unfortunately paid some disrespect to equality of space granted the different International Presidents. This created petty jealousy among them, and for a while one might have thought that they expected to take advantage of this strike situation from a standpoint of publicity for the purpose of signing up a contract with some theatrical circuit, and had a desire to play the Hippodrome for a thousand a week.

In addition to this petty jealousy which was so apparent there frequently came to the surface indications that would lead one to believe that the sincerity among some of the Inter-

national Presidents to the federated movement could be questioned. At the early date of October 24, 1911, only twenty-five days after the strike was called, President M. F. Ryan of the Carmen, in a letter written to President Kline of the Blacksmiths, says:

"Now, Kline, it would seem from the bulletins that everything looks very favorable to us on the Harriman Lines, but I want to be very frank in saying to you that if we are just going to let the strike continue (and I don't know of anything else we can do) until such time as Kruttschnitt sends for us, the strike, in my opinion, will be on this time next year. In this I may be mistaken and hope I am, still, as above stated, I don't know of anything we can do but just continue the fight."

Was this letter to Mr. Kline from President M. F. Ryan of the Carmen a "feeler"? Construe it as you will, one thing is certain, that President Ryan was, after being on strike for twenty-five days, not as drunk with the principles of federation as he made an effort to demonstrate to the delegates of the Machinist Convention on the 26th of September, 1911, less than one month previous to the writing of this letter. What impression could it leave with the men on strike who at that time learned what the attitude of Mr. Ryan, President of the Carmen, had developed into?

A few months later, during the month of December, 1911, a mysterious meeting was called at the Briggs House, Chicago. This meeting was not called by President Kline, Chairman of the International Presidents. However, it was called by somebody and no one took the responsibility for calling it, according to the notes of the minutes of this meeting. Men were there from Council Bluffs, Paducah and New Orleans; there were International Presidents, Vice Presidents and committeemen. President O'Sullivan of the Sheet Metal Workers nominated President M. F. Ryan of the Carmen as Chairman of the meeting, and P. J. Conlon, Vice President of the Machinists, was nominated as Secretary. (Reference, minutes of Briggs House meeting, December, 1911.)

President M. F. Ryan of the Carmen, in his opening remarks, says:

"Brothers, you all know what we are here for," and with a few other remarks sat down.

President J. W. Kline of the Blacksmiths took the floor and said:

"That he did not know what the object of this meeting was and did not know why it was called, or what they were going to do, and would like to be informed."

President M. F. Ryan stated that he had been asked to come here and talk over the strike proposition, as it was not as rosy as some of the pickets and others reported; that he questioned whether we were winning or losing, and he threw a bucketful of cold water on the entire strike proposition. Vice President Frank Paquin of the Carmen did the same.

Mr. Kline called on Mr. J. D. Buckalew of the Machinists and asked him if he had made any false reports. Buckalew took the floor and in a heated speech defended the strike and the strikers. He was supported by Mr. J. F. McCreery, President of the Illinois Central System Federation. Business Agent Mr. Sanborn of the Carmen from Council Bluffs, Iowa, Mr. J. W. Kline and others. The only ones who were there with a "yellow streak" were Mr. M. F. Ryan, Mr. Frank Paquin and Mr. O'Sullivan. President Ryan then took the floor and stated:

"That his organization was not in a position to carry on a losing game, and that he could not lend his support to something that he knew could not win."

Mr. P. J. Conlon reported that he had seen a railroad official, but his mission with him had proven to be a failure.

President Kline of the Blacksmiths said:

"That he was in favor of a general strike on all railroads to force a settlement on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines."

President Franklin of the Boilermakers said:

"That he was willing to go along for a general strike."

All the other International Presidents opposed the general strike idea. (The Briggs House meeting adjourned.)

President Kline of the Blacksmiths at the Kansas City Convention of the Railway Department, April, 1916 (Reference, minutes), makes the following statement:

"After this Briggs House meeting President Ryan of the carmen and Vice-President Frank Paquin held a conference with the master car builder, Mr. Bucher of the Illinois Central Railroad, who made them a certain proposition, according to President Ryan's own statement, that he and Mrs. Ryan would be taken care of for the rest of their days, and that Mr. Ryan got an invitation to attend another conference that would be beneficial to him, and if not, his expenses would be paid."

The object of these meetings and what transpired you may construe as you wish. However, there is one thing that is certain, and that is that President Ryan of the Carmen died on the job, as far as federation is concerned and the strike in general; someone or something had "tapped him" of that steam and ginger that he possessed in the days of popularity when he was willing to be right at any price, even though it was a losing game. To talk strike and be strong for it was a popular part to play in 1911, even with many of the men on the line, but as the polish of popularity wore off, and they started to face some of the hardships that are to be expected in strikes, then it was discovered that they had not gauged the issue from the standpoint of losing the fight if necessary. So, too, Mr. Ryan of the Carmen lost his enthusiasm as the movement closed up on dark clouds that should have been seen and recognized by him, much more than by the men in the ranks, because he carried the shoulder straps of a general, but the shoulder straps of a general that feared the outcome of the battle that he stood in the midst of.

In order to strengthen up what took place after the Briggs House meeting between President Ryan of the Carmen and Mr. Bucher, ex-master car-builder of the Illinois Central Railroad, I quote a part of a letter written by Mr. J. A. Franklin of the Boilermakers to Mr. J. W. Kline, President of the Blacksmiths, dated Kansas City, Kan., Jan. 25, 1912, about

a month after the meeting in Chicago; paragraph 2 of this letter reads as follows:

Paragraph 2: "In reference to the conference held with Mr. Bucher, I will state that I had a talk with President Ryan Monday afternoon, and he told me there was nothing really out of the way in connection with this matter, as this man Bucher had met President McCreery and told him that he would like to see President Ryan; that he could bring about a conference that would lead to a settlement. Brother Ryan showed me a telegram that he sent President McCreery telling him that he had no confidence whatever in Bucher and that he knew that he was not acting on the square. President Ryan further told me that this man Bucher came to the Kaiserhof Hotel and wanted to see him and that he took Paquin up to his room with him, and it appears that Bucher's plea was that the carmen could get a settlement with an increase for all their men, and that they could put Richardson's organization off the system and various other miracles could be performed if they could only go in and settle up for themselves."

Paragraph 3 of the same letter further reads:

"There was some other statements made by this man Bucher as reported to me by President Ryan, which no doubt President Ryan will tell you when he sees you, and which I don't care to put into a letter, but they had to do with this gentleman's effort to bring about a split in our ranks."

Can we learn from this letter that an effort was being made to split up the ranks? Why, certainly. And some of the crafts would have been ordered back in accordance with "proper arrangements" had it not been for the fact that there were men on the lines who would have sounded the alarm of approaching danger. From this time there can be no question but that the railroad companies were making an effort to split up the ranks of the men on strike, for Mr. J. A. Franklin's own statement to this effect has been introduced. Therefore, anyone from the ranks of the International organizations who made the same efforts that Mr. Bucher was making in January, 1912, was also engaged in a mission of splitting up the ranks, was he not? Or should an agent from the ranks of organized labor be justified in performing such functions that International President Mr. Franklin of the Boilermakers himself construes as a shady proposition. And if such was considered a disrespect in January, 1912, would time change and alter the

situation so that which was considered disrespectful in 1912 would be considered a respectable transaction in 1915?

Regardless of the already established attitude of President Ryan of the Carmen at this particular time, I will try and show you his ability to ride on both sides of the question at issue. In a circular letter of Feb. 26, 1912, under caption of "Second Special Appeal," addressed to all lodges, officers and members of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, President Ryan states in paragraph 3:

"This is one of the greatest strikes that has ever taken place on the American continent. The strike has been in existence for five months, with but very few desertions. This strike must, and shall be won: These men are willing to do the fighting and endure the many hardships that go with it, and all you are expected to do is to furnish sufficient funds to keep their bodies and souls together. Will you do this? I am confident that you will; so confident that I am going to give you the opportunity to show your loyalty to the Brotherhood and your brothers who are engaged in this strike and are making your fight as well as their own."

The news of the Briggs House meetings and his attitude there had "leaked out" among the strikers, and at many of the points President Ryan was losing his grip among his membership and others. This so-called "grip," however, is a necessary adjunct especially around election for a professional politician, and, therefore, this false play to the galleries. If the men on strike were fighting for this cause, and it was as important as Mr. Ryan says it is in his above statement, then wouldn't it have warranted him paying his men the strike benefits they were entitled to by the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, or opening up the treasury of his organization which he put under lock and key so far as the strikers were concerned?

Mr. Ryan was more responsible for the strike than any member of the Carmen's organization (Reference, *Carmen's Journal* and the minutes of the Davenport Convention, I. A. of M., for 1911), but while he held up the strike benefits or the wages of the strikers amounting to some seven dollars per week, he did not forget to sign the vouchers for his own salary in full. However, with the evolution of time, when the

strikers had been driven off the line by the cruel forces of necessity and scattered over the continent to start out anew, the principles which they had fought for were surrendered by President Ryan and his colleagues and the mob in copper-riveted overalls did not question their authority.

THE DEMAND FOR A CONVENTION

During the early part of January, 1912, Rev. C. H. Doolittle, a striker from the Illinois Central Burnside shops in Chicago, a machinist and a minister of the gospel, was called to the attention of Chairman J. W. Kline as a gentleman who was capable of holding public meetings and talking on the subject of federation. Mr. Kline secured the assistance from the other International Presidents to the extent that they would all pay their pro rata share in the expense of sending the Rev. C. H. Doolittle on a lecture trip over the Illinois Central. This was the first time anything like federation was complied with in handling the strike.

The Rev. Doolittle was a platform orator of the "Billy Sunday type" and fully understood the federated movement and why the men were on strike. He held overflow meetings at the large terminal points on the Illinois Central and was successful in getting the city councils at many of the cities, the business men's associations and the general public to come out and hear him explain the strike situation. They seemed to get more information out of Rev. Doolittle, the Burnside machinist-preacher, than all of the rest of the platform performers that were on the line. He knew his subject and knew how to tell it.

When he came back to Chicago he rendered a report in which he says, "I held sixteen Federation meetings, and consulted with a number of different Executive Boards, traveled 2,400 miles and averaged four and one-half hours a day of public speaking. Many of the city councils passed resolutions condemning the treatment of the Illinois Central and

Harriman Lines towards its former employees and requested that they recognize the Federation."

The old preacher, as he was called, spread the gospel of the general strike everywhere among the strikers, and this portion of his religion was unforgivable among some of the International officers, who were strong "antis" as far as a general strike was concerned; therefore, he was pulled out of service as an undesirable, and when Chairman Kline of the International Presidents asked them to further federate by assisting financially to pay for Doolittle's expenses over the strike zone, they refused to further federate on such appropriations. However, the preacher had sown the seed for a general strike on his trip over the Illinois Central and a demand was made to hold a general meeting with representatives from all railroad shop crafts, at Kansas City, Mo., for March 4, 1912, for the purpose of considering the advisability of the general strike. This demand from the men on strike became so powerful that it was granted.

In a letter dated Jan. 24, 1912, at Water Valley, Miss., signed by John H. Hawkins for the strikers, and addressed to all of the International Presidents implicated in the strike was a request that they make arrangements for a conference with Mr. Earl Brewer, then elected governor of Mississippi. The letter stated that Governor Brewer came to Water Valley to visit the strikers and conferred with them, inasmuch as he had twelve relatives out on strike and was a friend of the strikers. The state militia of Mississippi had been assigned to strike duty at McComb and other points in Mississippi by the former governor, and it was stated that the governor wanted to see if the strike could not be settled and the militia discharged. Arrangements were made for Grand Lodge Presidents to hold a conference with Governor Brewer at the state capital in Jackson, Miss., on February 5, 1912. No settlement was reached. The governor had nothing to offer and President Markham of the Illinois Central, who had held a conference just prior, made no concessions to the Federation.

Mr. Markham stated that the strike on the Illinois Central up to February 1, 1912, had cost his company seventeen million dollars (\$17,000,000.00).

The General Presidents, leaving Jackson, Miss., went to New Orleans where they secured a conference with the members of the Cotton Exchange. The railroads were represented by Mr. C. E. Markham, Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt and Mr. Lovett, the representative of the Cotton Exchange, being the go-between. This conference also terminated without any results as far as the strike situation was concerned.

The General Presidents in their southern tour of the Illinois Central frequently discussed the approaching meeting of March 4, 1912, at Kansas City, which had been previously arranged for and was the federated movement out of which sprang the Federation of Federations. At places where men were on strike they were met by many of the restless soldiers, talking *general strike*, and their "morning mail" brought them the same intrusive religion. The pressure was going up, and how to control the safety valves was the question. A telegram had been received by J. D. Buckalew, Vice President of the I. A. of M., from President Johnston requesting the other International Presidents to meet him somewhere in the West, Kansas City preferable. So they decided to meet in Kansas City, Mo., February 20, 1912, to place the microscope on this restless movement that was considered such a dangerous disease.

The Vice Presidents assigned to the strike zones, and the Business Agents were called into Kansas City for this meeting on the twentieth. They were put on the stand, questioned and cross-questioned, and asked why they who were on the line could not keep the pressure of the general strike down below the surface (reference, minutes, meeting of General Officers, February 20, 1912, Kansas City, Mo.). According to these minutes, we are informed that a wide difference of opinion existed as to the advisability of calling the meeting that had been demanded for March 4, 1912. However, those

who opposed this meeting were in the majority; President J. W. Kline and Vice President Buckalew were the only two who stood out against the cancelling of the meeting of March 4, and on the second day of the meeting a letter was drafted to be sent to all lodges. This letter put the wet blanket on the general meeting for March 4 and was dated February 21, 1912, at Kansas City, Mo., addressed to all crafts involved in the strike, sent to all local lodges and signed by all International Presidents. Let us therefore observe a portion of this letter:

Paragraph 1: "At a meeting of the International Officers, representing the crafts which compose the shop federation of railroads, held in Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 21-23, 1912, which was called for the purpose of considering several matters of mutual and vital concern, the question of a general meeting of all crafts, parties to be the System Federation plan, proposed for March 4th, 1912, in the territory above mentioned, was taken up and given thorough consideration."

The above paragraph is quoted so that there can be no question as to the purpose of this meeting of February 21, 1912. The purpose was to *kill* the meeting for March 4, and it was *killed*, the opponents stating that it would cost some \$20,000 to hold the convention. To flatter the strikers they said that it would be better to give this money to the men on strike—something they did not do, and had no intention of doing. There is, however, an important connection with this letter, and that is that this letter was a *federated letter, signed by all the International Presidents*, the first time that they had been driven to recognize federated efforts since the inception of the strike, with the exception of the time when the Rev. C. H. Doolittle was sent over the system. Therefore, this period marks an important milestone in the history of the strike. Why did they not handle all their business and transactions pertaining to the strike on such federated basis as they dispatched this letter? Let me tell you. There had been nothing since the inauguration of this strike which they considered was as worthy of results, not even the strike itself, and therefore they got together. They were not moved by

the desire of getting good results for the strikers, but against them. Because the men on strike were demanding a meeting for the purpose of discussing the possibility of a general strike, which was termed a restless and irresponsible wave of agitation, the joint action on their part was taken for the purpose of making their efforts as secure as possible. But, let it be understood that it was to be as secure as possible against the men on strike.

This federated letter, with its wet blanket for the meeting of March 4, 1912, went broadcast over the country. But, federated as it was, it did not carry "enough water"; the fire of discontent had been burning too long. As in Russia's revolution, the czars did not get their ears to the ground in time. On March 1, 1912, a delegation of Chicago strikers stormed the office of Chairman Kline of the International Presidents and demanded to know why this meeting for March 4-12 had been called off. Mr. Kline advised them that he opposed the rest of the General Presidents, and was still in favor of calling the meeting of March 4, 1912, and was assisted by Vice President Buckalew of the I. A. of M., but the majority voted to call off the meeting and therefore the letter of February 21, 1912.

The following demand was then made upon all General Officers, dated at Chicago on March 1, 1912:

"The Executive Committee of the local Federation demands the presence of the International Presidents at a conference to be held in Chicago, Monday, March the 4th, 1912. Matters of imperative consequence demand your presence. A crisis necessitates this call for a conference. We shall expect a compliance with this request. The situation is such that we are compelled to make this demand. We trust that it will be heeded. A copy of this letter is being sent to the General Presidents of the organizations involved in the Illinois Central strike. Very sincerely yours. Signed by H. J. Molloy, S. J. Osten, I. J. Cundiff, Wm. Combs, M. E. Murray, J. J. Thomas."

This demand from the strikers was recognized. All the International officers could not get to Chicago for March 4, and therefore the meeting was postponed until March 9, 1912. So that it will be understood that the boys "all drove in for

the circus." I am referring you to minutes of meeting held in Kaiserhof Hotel on Saturday, March 9, 1912.

Meeting called to order by J. W. Kline, chairman; John Fitzpatrick was chosen secretary. Present: J. W. Kline, Roy Horn, and C. N. Glover of the Blacksmiths, J. A. Franklin and J. F. Schmidt of the Boilermakers, J. J. Keppler and J. D. Buckalew of the Machinists. President M. F. Ryan of the Carmen, President M. O'Sullivan of the Sheet Metal Workers, John Fitzpatrick of the Federal Labor Unions and a delegation of thirty members composing the executive boards of the Federation at the Burnside shops, headed by Robt. Knox, chairman of the Board.

Mr. Robt. Knox stated that the purpose of the meeting was to find out why the meeting set for March 4th had been postponed. A lengthy discussion took place, which was participated in by Kline, Ryan, Franklin, O'Sullivan, Keppler, Buckalew, Molloy, Jensen, Doolittle, Osten, Glover and others. A great deal of plain talk was indulged in on both sides. The International officers then went into session, and it was agreed that a real serious situation had developed—that some influences were at work which stirred the men to the highest pitch—that this was the most critical situation that had developed during the strike, and that this was an organized movement to have their own way or else cause an open rupture with their general officers, and was plainly evident that either one of these two situations would have to be met squarely.

It was agreed among the International officers to notify the Burnside delegation that the officers agreed that a delegate meeting be held on April 15, 1912, at Kansas City, Mo., and the officers of each organization notify organizations interested to be represented at said meeting.

That's what it took to start the Federation of Federations, now known as the Railway Department of the A. F. of L. A bunch of hungry strikers from Burnside shops forced the General Officers to call this meeting for April 15, 1912.

The fact that the International Presidents drove in for March 9, 1912, brought about other good results outside of the calling of a convention for April 15 in Kansas City. They sent out a letter through their Federation asking for financial assistance for the men on strike. This letter was dated Chicago, March 11, 1912, and signed by all International Presidents. In this letter of March 11, 1912, they refer to their meeting with Governor Brewer of Mississippi, held prior to this time, on February 5, 1912. It has often been said that the men on strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines did not put up a fight. Certain International Presidents have

accused them of this. However, in this letter is a statement made and signed by themselves which reads (reference, Federation letter, Chicago, Ill., March 11, 1912):

"The strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines has lasted five months. After three months' battle President Markham of the Illinois Central made the statement to Governor Brewer of Mississippi (who stated to the undersigned and others) that it had cost the Illinois Central \$17,000,000 already, but that they had been reimbursed from other sources \$15,000,000, proving the charge that the railroads were federated, a privilege they deny their employees. Undoubtedly it cost the Harriman Lines more than double the amount, and that being the case, this strike is costing the railroad companies \$7,000,000 per month. If they are willing to sink this amount to fight the federated shop crafts, it means a continuation of the fight on the separate unions, if we lose this strike. Signed, J. W. Kline, J. A. Franklin, W. H. Johnston, M. F. Ryan, M. O'Sullivan, J. J. Carrigan, G. F. Headrick, J. T. Kinsella and John Fitzpatrick."

This letter was written by those who signed it. They were responsible for the letter and the statements made therein. Assuming that it was the truth, then the men on strike were certainly putting up an effective fight, if they never won, were they not? And if railroad strikes are as expensive as this, then if the men on other railroads had joined in a general strike, how long before the railroads would go bankrupt and be forced to settle? Bear the contents of this letter in mind as you run through this book, and see if you can find some spotlight performer whose sincerity to the best interests of labor can be questioned.

Mr. Kline is authority for the statement that three thousand three hundred dollars (\$3,300.00) were the returns of this letter to the Federation. The money was divided 40% to the Illinois Central Federation and 60% to the Harriman Lines Federation, sent to the secretaries of the respective federations and through them sent to the different local federations.

THE GENERAL STRIKE VOTE

As the 15th day of April, 1912, stepped upon the carpet of time, the historic convention of the shop craft delegates took place in Kansas City, Mo. International Presidents, Vice

Presidents and Business Agents were there. Some of them had arrived as early as the 12th, so that they could look over the grounds, analyze the situation and decide what was to be done to control the demand for action that had shaken the very highest authority in officialdom at Chicago on March 9, and forced them to grant this convention for the 15th.

Diplomacy had to be exercised in Kansas City as never before, for they knew of the "fire" that existed among the Burnside delegation of strikers. With this meeting confronting them on the 15th, they were aware that some restless soldiers would drive in from all of the points on strike and therefore Grand Lodge officers drove in early on the no-stop trains. The beer and meat trains had unloaded many of the strikers on the river front Sunday night who had come from all sections in the West, and as the sun crept out of its nest in the East on Monday morning, the 15th, the free-footed rebels had their "mulligan stews" around the campfires on the banks of the Missouri.

Diplomacy was the watchword among those who came there to screw down the safety valves, and diplomacy was exercised as never before. Sufficient axle grease was absorbed in "greeting the boys" and making inquiries if the baby had cut teeth yet, to keep many eccentrics on the Harriman Lines from getting hot. The convention went into session on Monday morning, the strikers being well represented. Mr. Kline of the Blacksmiths stood alone among the General Presidents for a general strike; Vice President J. D. Buckalew of the Machinists played an important part in demanding a general strike. (Reference, minutes of convention, April 15-23, 1912, inclusive.) President J. F. McCreery of the Illinois Central System Federation and President E. L. Reguin of the Harriman Lines Federation were there in support of a general strike.

A strike of the Carmen was in existence on the M., K. & T., and it was decided that if a general strike vote was to be taken on western roads to force a settlement on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, that the M., K. & T. strike should also

be included. Thomas Wilson, Vice President of the Machinists, introduced resolution No. 5 (reference, page 13 of minutes) calling for a strike vote on the western roads; it was carried with very little opposition, although there were many Grand Lodge representatives there who were against the resolution, but they had learned by driving in early that the sentiment was too strong for a general strike and they were diplomatic enough not to oppose that which they could not successfully resist. Therefore, they stepped in the band-wagon for the general strike and resolution No. 5 so that they could maintain their confidence with that often termed "radical element." Not because they had resolved to stand with them in the future, but to make their seat in the band-wagon secure, that they might get in and ride and wreck it when the proper time came, and events indicate they eventually did this.

Mr. A. O. Wharton, Machinist Business Agent of District No. 5, comprising the machinists on the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain Railroad System, was elected President and Mr. John Scott, who was then Secretary of the Harriman Lines Federation, was elected as Secretary. The name of the organization was known as the Federation of Federations of Railway Employees, and later changed to the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L.

Mr. A. O. Wharton came from the Missouri Pacific with a good reputation in handling strikes. He had directed the strikes on the M. P. and Iron Mountain Lines of 1910 and the men on strike felt that with Mr. Wharton at the head of the Federation as President, great changes in the interest of the strike would take place. It was believed that he would at least drive the Grand Lodge Presidents together, and the strikes on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines would from that time on be handled as a federation and that he would bring such pressure to bear on them as would force them to recognize the same federation that they had asked Mr. C. H. Markham and Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines to recognize.

In John Scott the strikers placed confidence because he was a striker and as the news of the Kansas City meeting and the election of Wharton and Scott reached the picket lines back home, there was a wave of enthusiasm that kissed the atmosphere among the boys. There was no question about it. From that time on the "smoke was going to fly." Mr. Wharton could handle the Grand Lodge officers that would not play the game, just as he handled the scabs on the Missouri Pacific; that is, make them like it. And John Scott, like a reliable guard, would fight when the rights of the strikers were intruded upon, or the cause of federation placed in jeopardy. Therefore there was an air of delight burning around the fires on the picket lines and the humorist found that the boys had become interested in a subject of more importance to them than to listen to him rehearsing the popular stories he collected from the "*Black Cat* and the *Roller Monthly*." For at last the men had been elected that would put into reality that religion of "one for all, the all for one," and, like the love-stricken mountain youth who, in his dreams, yearns for his blue-eyed maiden and the coming of the day when he and his mate shall live as one above the rippling streams in the shadows of the mountains, so, too, the strikers yearned for the sunbeams at Kansas City that had promised to give new life and action to the strike. But, like she who made her wedding gowns and waited in vain for a lover who had jilted her, so the strikers waited in vain for the sun rays to shine from the banks of the Missouri. They waited and waited in vain. Action was taken on resolution No. 5 in the form of a circular letter, which is herewith quoted in full as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 29, 1912.

To all Members of all Organizations represented by the undersigned National, International and Brotherhood Organizations, whose signatures are hereto attached.

Greeting: The Convention called by the General Officers which was held in Kansas City, Mo., April 15th to 23d, 1912, inclusive, for the purpose of organizing the Federation of Federations, decided to take up for consideration the strikes now in effect on the M., K. & T., Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. After a thorough discussion it was

unanimously decided to submit the following proposition to the entire membership of all organizations on all roads west of Chicago.

The resolution introduced and adopted on this matter was substantially as follows:

WHEREAS, The crafts comprising the Federation of Railway Employees on the M., K. & T., the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, have been on a strike for the past seven months and are still on strike, fighting for recognition.

WHEREAS, We believe these roads are members of the General Managers' Association, and in our opinion have the moral and financial support of that organization, and

WHEREAS, Our members are still at work upon roads that, in our opinion, are contributing to the success of the struck roads, by relieving them of their obligation to the public, and in this manner contributing aid to the detriment of the men on strike, therefore be it

Resolved, That a ballot be spread upon every railroad west of Chicago and that the members be requested to vote upon the following question, viz.: "Shall we demand settlement of strike now in progress?"

The question for the members to decide is, shall we demand a settlement of the strikes on the lines of road above mentioned, to the extent of calling a general strike?

Those who favor a general strike will vote, **Yes**.

Those opposed to a general strike will vote, **No**.

By action of this Convention it was decided to take a secret ballot, which shall be taken in the following manner: A uniform ballot being designed for this purpose will be sent out by the respective organizations. The local lodge officers of each organization, on receipt of said ballots, shall immediately take steps to hold a summoned meeting, which all members shall be expected to attend, for the purpose of taking the strike vote.

Each member shall be furnished by the local lodge Secretary with an individual ballot and envelope. After voting the member shall enclose ballot, seal said envelope personally and deposit in the hands of the local lodge officer authorized to receive same, except that all members working at points where no lodge exists shall be furnished envelopes and ballots by the Secretary of the lodge to which they belong, same to be returned in sealed envelope to local lodge officer. All ballots received by the duly authorized local lodge officer shall be sealed and deposited in envelope furnished for that purpose and by him transmitted to the Grand Lodge by registered mail. All ballots must be in the hands of your respective Grand Lodge officers not later than June 1, 1912, at 12 o'clock midnight.

In the judgment of the Convention it was absolutely necessary, for the protection of the entire membership involved, that this strike vote be absolutely secret, and if the plan as outlined is carried out the desired result will have been attained.

This mode of procedure has been adopted by all organizations as a standard in handling questions of this magnitude.

Believing that the membership is entitled to the fullest information in connection with the subject matter, which so vitally concerns them, we, your International Officers, desire to call to your attention the fact that the respective organizations cannot promise any financial assistance, owing to the depleted conditions of our treasuries; therefore we

believe it our duty, as your representatives, to acquaint the membership with the true situation now confronting us, and in conclusion will say that we are placing these facts before you in order that there may be no just grounds for criticism later, and we trust that whatever your decisions may be, it will redound to the credit of organized labor.

Thanking you in advance for your due and thoughtful consideration of the subject matter, we remain,

Fraternally yours,

J. W. KLINE, President.

WM. F. KRAMER, Gen'l Secy.-Treas.

M. F. RYAN, General President, Brotherhood Railway Carmen.

J. A. FRANKLIN, International President, Brotherhood Boiler-makers & Helpers.

J. W. KLINE, General President, Blacksmiths & Helpers.

WM. H. JOHNSTON, International President, Machinists & Helpers.

M. O'SULLIVAN, General President, Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance.

JNO. J. CARRIGAN, Grand President, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

J. T. KINSELLA, General President, International Association Steamfitters & Helpers.

GEO. F. HEDRICK, General President, Brotherhood of Painters.

JAMES WILSON, General President, Pattern Makers' League.

Approved by the Convention of the Federation of Federations.

A. O. WHARTON, President.

JOHN SCOTT, Secy.-Treasurer.

This was the time for the diplomats to get their work in and wreck the band-wagon that they stepped into at Kansas City with all the smiles of the professional politician. The buttons were pressed by those who had them to press, and the payroll artists who could be depended on to "go along" were saddled for action. They came from all corners of the continent to the West. Some of the "dear brothers" who had prestige and a reputation that would warrant the authorities to believe that they would use such prestige against the general strike vote were put to work and dispatched to visit their neighboring lodges with the white flag of resistance to the general strike vote and its agitation.

These obedient guards could be heard barking everywhere, and pointing to the history of dead institutions to substantiate their wisdom, such as the Knights of Labor, the A. R. U.

and any other monument whose descriptive epitaphs they could read upon the storm-battered and time-worn granite that has fixed its place and age in the graveyards of the dead. The railroad Business Agents covered their jurisdiction fully and frequently. In this the operations of the Machinist Business Agents were very conspicuous; their earmarks and footprints could be traced everywhere. The railroads realized the critical nature of the situation, and the petty officials and straw-bosses that could be used were pressed into service. The railroads turned the switch on their publicity agencies, and the metropolitan dailies called attention to the approaching danger, while the grass-town editors told their readers that it was "ill-advised."

Between the 29th of April and June 1, 1912, while the general strike vote was being taken, there was only one of the International Presidents that came out flat-footed for a general strike. He was J. W. Kline of the Blacksmiths. He sent out a circular letter on May 18 making a special appeal to his membership to vote in favor of the general strike (reference, circular letter, dated Chicago, May 18, 1912) reading as follows:

"April 5th has come and gone, and the Kansas City Convention is history. There was some dissatisfaction on account of the March 4th meeting being called off and there was some criticism on account of the April 15th meeting being called. I was not in favor of calling off the March 4th meeting. And I was in favor of calling the April 15th meeting. I have stood from the beginning for the Federation of Federations. I have stood since the middle of December for a strike vote to be taken on the other roads. And if it takes a strike to force a settlement, I believe we ought to strike. I stated this before the convention. I stated it in the convention and I still believe it. I want the Blacksmiths and Helpers to understand my position in this matter. It may take a general strike to settle this Illinois Central and Harriman Lines battle. I stand alone among the general officers in this position. J. W. Kline, Gen'l Pres."

The strike vote was made returnable not later than June 1, 1912, and was taken in the form of a secret; that is, the members of a local where a strike vote was taken were not allowed to know what the result of that vote was in their own local. The consequence was that no one knew the result of the

strike vote but the respective International officers who tabulated them. In having them tabulated they adhered strictly to their craft principles. They did not get together and tabulate the strike vote. The International office of the Carmen counted the votes of the carmen. The other organizations did the same: counted their own votes. These figures had to be accepted as final. The reason set forth for the advisability of a secret vote was to keep the results of the vote from the railroad managers. There, however, could have been other reasons. Was there a desire to keep the result of the general strike vote from those who voted and the men on strike? Possibly so.

Men can by shrewd diplomacy be kept ignorant of what should concern them most, but that which is secrecy among some men is generally an open book to railroad managers and others who have the means of getting this information. And as long as men can be lulled into the belief that it is best to keep it on the Q. T., or that it is possible to do so, just that long the detective agencies will flourish and managers will get their paid-for information, while those who are most concerned are kept in ignorance deep enough to make them believe that no one knows it; just as some "little girl next door" thinks that she has a secret, not realizing that it was the discussion in every kitchen in the block before the milkman made the morning's circuit.

Should labor unions ever become big enough to open their doors and stand up on their feet, like the average man who eats raw meat, and has got hair on his head, and declare to those who don't like the looks of them, that they can come in and look them over through an open door, then a hundred thousand slippery, fine-combed and polished detectives would be laid off twenty-four hours after this declaration was made, lose their jobs and go to ditch-digging. The agencies, instead of hanging out signs "Operators wanted," would hang crepe on their doors. But possibly this, too, would be against the principles of labor: it would throw so many laborers out of work.

There were many other agents, outside of those whose mission it was to put the wet blanket on the general strike vote, that seemed to be restless as time reached the proximity of June 1, 1912, and they were the scabs who had "positions" with the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines in the capacity of machinists, boilermakers, carmen, blacksmiths and others. They were a restless lot, for they had more confidence that the strike vote would carry than any one with the exception of the strikers. They knew if the strike vote would carry, and a general strike took place, that the \$15,000,000 that C. H. Markham told Governor Earl Brewer of Mississippi about on February 5, 1912, would be cut off, and then the strike could not last long. (Reference, letter signed by all General Presidents, March 11, 1912.) The strikebreakers at least thought that union men on the roads that were assisting the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines financially would vote to go on strike; vote to do as much for the men on strike as the managers of other railroads did for the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines.

And while they spent some sad days going through this crisis of June 1, 1912, they were amply repaid when the decision was rendered that their occupations would be secure in the future.

On June 28, 1912, the International Presidents met in St. Louis, Mo. At this meeting a letter was drafted, signed and sent to Mr. W. A. Garrett, Chairman, General Managers' Association of Western Railroads, requesting a conference, insinuating, of course, that they had a strike vote. Mr. W. A. Garrett replied on July 11, 1912, that the Association of Western Railroads could not undertake to hold such a conference. At this late date the men had received no official information as to the result of the strike vote, outside of the information given out by the railroads some six weeks previous, in which they said that the vote for a general strike was lost, and so assured their strikebreakers, which later proved to be true.

On July 20, 1912, President A. O. Wharton of the Railway Department drafted a circular letter that he intended to be

sent out to the membership for the purpose of giving them information on the general strike vote. Copies of this letter were sent to all the International Presidents for their approval. Paragraph 6 of this letter reads as follows:

"We believe that it would have been a most serious thing to have become involved in a strike of such magnitude at this particular time."

Mr. Wharton in this letter conveyed the sentiments of all the International Presidents, with the exception of Mr. J. W. Kline, who stood for the men on strike and opposed the sending out of letters which seemed to bear the finger marks of an unseen hand. The International Presidents, however, thought that Wharton should be more diplomatic in his letter writing and not express his private opinion. Therefore they refused to approve of the letter as drafted by Mr. Wharton, for they wanted the news of the general strike vote broken to the membership in such slippery language that would draw smiles instead of contempt from the men on the line. Wharton was new in the game as a "big-league politician," and as soon as the old experienced chiefs received the sample copy for their approval, they at once realized that they could never keep the confidence of the men by openly admitting that they were against them at the Kansas City convention in April and had worked against them for the general strike vote. Mr. Wharton then called all the General Presidents to come to St. Louis for the 29th of July, 1912, for an Executive Board meeting.

In the meantime Mr. Wharton's office was flooded with inquiries for information on the strike vote. In answering these inquiries Mr. Wharton drafted a general circular letter for which he took the responsibility himself. This letter appeared to put a wet blanket on the entire strike situation, and it was said that this letter was the cause of more desertions in the ranks of the strikers than anything that had taken place since the inception of the strike.

Mr. Wharton's circular letter can best speak for itself; therefore, meet Mr. Wharton, President of the Railway Department:

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, July 18, 1912.

MR. JOSEPH HEMSER,

Los Angeles, Cal.

Dear Sir and Brother:—This letter is in reply to your favor of recent date, having received quite a few inquiries from points along the struck roads, all of which are similar in character. I appreciate fully just how our striking brothers are anxious to learn what is being done, and what the prospects are, etc. From many points the men ask for this information, so that they may know what to do in regard to some of the pickets leaving to accept employment on other roads. Words fail to express my sympathy for those of our members who have been true blue, staying on the job and doing their part. I know what it means to face the conditions we are confronted with during a strike, and have seen families double up to reduce expenses, and thus better enable the husband and father to make the fight.

The officers of your respective organizations and the undersigned, constituting the Executive Council of the Federation, have put forth every effort to bring about a settlement. To date we have failed to secure a conference with the Harriman and I. C. officials, or any one who represents them.

I am not speaking for any one but myself in this letter, and want to say that in my opinion no conference will be secured, or any settlement reached, unless the men on the job are able to make the strike effective, as by this means only can we hope to make a settlement. The Harriman and I. C. officials do not propose to make a settlement if they are able to operate their railroads without the aid of Union men. We must all recognize this fact. The employers do not, as a rule, employ union men because of their love for us, but because it is the cheapest means at their command in operating their properties.

The deciding influence in adjusting any controversy of this character is, as a rule, based upon necessity of securing something they cannot get in any other manner; in this case it is skilled help. We don't for one minute believe these companies have secured the help they need and must have in order to maintain the standard of efficiency to successfully operate those roads. We know they are working under a great disadvantage, that they are losing money every day, that the help they have secured is incompetent, but the fact still remains that it is not sufficiently so to force the companies to a settlement.

The men on the firing line seem to lay great stress upon what would happen if all the Western roads were out on strike. Did you ever stop to figure out how this condition would affect us? The I. C. and Harriman men were of the opinion in the start that the strike would not last over a few weeks at the outside. It has lasted some months, and is still in progress. The strikers have had the benefit of such financial support as could be obtained, little tho it may appear to the individual; it has run up into very near one million dollars for the International Association of Machinists alone. It is because of this fact that the strike is still effective. If we had all the other roads out right now, all benefits would stop. There is no use of our trying to fool ourselves into believing we can pull all the Western roads. There are some four hundred thousand employees eligible to membership in the organizations affiliated with the Federation of Federations, and ap-

proximately but fifty thousand belong. There is no such thing as winning a railroad strike in any fixed time; it may be three months or twelve months.

Our federated movement is in its infancy; we are not even organized; we have not got system federations on one-third of the roads west of Chicago.

The Federation could not of itself even pay the price of sending out telegrams or letters calling a strike, let alone handling the absolutely necessary expenses of conducting the most limited business. In other words, the Federation of Federations could not even maintain an office or employ a stenographer. We are only starting to organize and here we find ourselves confronted with a problem that would tax to the limit any organization in the world.

I have been elected President of the Federation, and as long as I am in that position I shall not knowingly be a party to anything that spells the blasting of our movement, with its consequent suffering and misery to the membership and those depending upon them. I went thru the A. R. U. strike of 1894, and saw the result of premature action. The A. R. U. would have been a power had it lived, premature action resulting in a general strike wiped it out of existence and some thousands of the best union men employed on the railroads of this country were made tramps for years, and all of our organizations were at a standstill for over ten years.

From the information we have been able to get, I am of the opinion that the railroads, while not exactly wanting trouble, are more than willing to fight at this time, because they know the financial standing of our organization is down to bed-rock, and trouble right now would find us weakened and unable to offer the fight we are capable of putting up under ordinary conditions. I believe in fighting, but don't believe in the policy of entering into a struggle (unless forced to) without having an opportunity to prepare for it by working out a system that will make for a successful conclusion of the trouble.

It is generally agreed that the Harriman and I. C. strike has been the most successful ever inaugurated, insofar as getting the men out is concerned. This being a fact, I attribute our failure to win the strike up to the present time principally because of lack of organization, the lack of a well-defined and thoroughly worked out plan. We can yet win these strikes, in my opinion, but the task is a hard one. The enthusiasm that we had to start with is supplanted by the bulldog tenacity of the men who have stuck to their colors, but the great opportunity offered by a well-directed and thoroughly organized machine which could have been put into effect at the start and prior to our members leaving the service was practically lost to us.

If my policy is to prevail in the strikes of the future, we will do our thinking before we go out; not afterwards.

Now in regard to the many inquiries as to the result of the strike vote. This information will be announced very shortly, just as soon as the Executive Council authorizes me to do so, and the matter is now before them.

Relative to men being released to accept employment on fair roads, I advise that every man that can be spared, be permitted to leave, and those released should be pledged to help the men who remain, by contributing at least a day's pay per month. We must make every effort

to keep up an active and effective picket line. I know just what you will think when you read this; you won't thank me any for saying what I have, but I have been thru the mill. Experience is a dear teacher, but an effective one. Nobody on earth can win these strikes but the *men on the job*.

With best wishes, I am,

Faternally yours,

A. O. WHARTON,
President.

P. S. I have given nothing out to the press since Executive Board meeting, and have nothing to deny.

Now that we have made the acquaintance of Mr. Wharton's private opinions, we are in a position to determine how enthusiastically he carried out the spirit of the April convention at Kansas City, which approved of the general strike program as a possible means to settle the strikes in progress.

Mr. Wharton, as indicated in this letter, has found a solution for future strikes "by performing the thinking before the strike instead of afterwards." We have it, then, direct from Mr. Wharton that the General Presidents and the Machinist's Convention at Davenport, Iowa, who sanctioned the strike and who were responsible for its existence, had overlooked the importance of doing any "thinking." In this statement Mr. Wharton does not pay very high respect to the International Presidents, or even himself, inasmuch as Mr. Wharton was one of the most prominent delegates to the Davenport Convention of the Machinists, which ordered the strike to take place. There is no record in the proceedings of this convention where Mr. Wharton called his attention to this convention that the strikes could be averted by the application of "thinking." If Mr. Wharton at that time had any thoughts on the subject of the strike, he must have been afraid to express them for fear it would injure his political aspirations.

Mr. Wharton makes it very plain that if the strikes are to be won, it is up to the men on the line to win them. I desire to call your special attention to this statement in Mr. Wharton's letter, for we shall learn later on that when the strikers made an effort to depend on themselves rather than Grand Lodge

officers as a possible means of winning the strikes, these Grand Lodge officers opposed them in this undertaking; and even Mr. Wharton rendered the Grand Lodge officers his co-operation in preventing the strikers from carrying out an effective program by the application of their own efforts on the line, or the very spirit of Mr. Wharton's statement, as he stated that "If the strikes are to be won, they must be won by the men on the line themselves."

Special meetings of the strikers were called at many points on the struck lines for to take action on Mr. Wharton's letter. Ringing resolutions came from Portland, Ore.; Chicago, Memphis, New Orleans, Freeport, Ill.; Oakland, Cal., of about the same nature as the following:

"Los Angeles, Cal., July 27th, 1912. We, the committee of all crafts appointed at a regular mass meeting assembled at Los Angeles, Cal., on July 27th, 1912, were authorized to draft up a circular letter, condemning the expressions of the personal views of A. O. Wharton, President of the Federation of Federations, and denouncing the stand he has taken on this matter. Wharton's circular letter comes as a great disappointment to the rank and file at this point as we hoped for better things from a man elected to the presidency of the Federation of Federations. What the rank and file at this point want to know, is our lately elected President of the Federation of Federations loyal to the members, or is he a traitor? Signed, J. W. Eruhandt, F. R. Parsons, G. H. Henry, S. S. Rochell, J. M. Easterwood, S. Forchan, C. R. Chilmers, Federated Committee."

After the excitement of this letter was over, both Mr. Wharton and the strikers had learned something. The strikers had found out just where Mr. Wharton, the man in whom they placed their utmost confidence, stood in regard to the strike situation. Mr. Wharton learned that he, at least, could not put anything like that over without a protest from the men on the line.

On July 29, 1912, all the General Presidents had arrived in St. Louis to re-draft the letter that Mr. Wharton had drafted on the 20th, which they would not approve of. Here they were. Some of them came 1,000 miles so that they could get together in drafting a polished letter to the men on the line and tell them how much they regretted that the strike vote

did not carry (?) and that they were 451 votes short of having the constitutional majority of 75%, which was the margin necessary to declare a general strike. That was all the information the men on the line wanted. They, of course, *knew it*, but wanted to get it officially or from some other source than through the *railroad officials*.

They federated in sending out this letter of July 29, as they had in some other cases when they wanted to get the best possible results for themselves. This was a case where the leading lights, the highest priced men of their organizations, six or seven of them, spent a week and traveling expenses to draw up a common ordinary letter which the average six-dollar-a-week Sears, Roebuck stenographer could compose and write at the rate of a hundred or more a day. Here stood an army of men on strike in the West depending upon them to carry out their already forgotten promise—the promise to put up a fight.

At the St. Louis meeting of July 29, 1912, the strike vote was tabulated. The following was the report rendered by the General Presidents, showing the strike vote as tabulated of the different crafts:

MEMORANDUM

STRIKE VOTE

Organization	Yes	No	Total Vote Cast	Involved	Members Not Voting	Maj. in Favor of Strike	Neg. Maj. Op. to Strike
Blacksmiths	1,424	711	2,134	4,134	2,000	1 ³ / ₃	...
Boilermakers	2,524	1,080	3,604	5,000	1,396	120 ³ / ₃	...
Machinists	4,336	2,485	6,821	11,000	4,179	....	779
Carmen	4,693	1,975	6,668	12,349	5,681	248	...
Sheet Metal Workers.	375	140	515	800	285	31	...
Painters	108	103	211	325	114	....	32
Steam Fitters	121	64	185	335	150	....	2
Railway Clerks	246	183	429	429	.....	....	40
Pattern Makers.....	No vote received						
Total	13,826	6,741	20,567	34,372	13,805	401 ¹ / ₃	853
Majority opposed to strike.....							451 ² / ₃

But let us throw a little more light on this important subject of the general strike vote and introduce further evidence that will substantiate the charges I have made that certain Grand Lodge officers were working overtime in the undercurrent against this general strike vote in 1912. In doing this I am introducing evidence direct from the records of the International Association of Machinists, as guaranteed to be correct under the signature of Geo. Preston, who at that time served the Association as General Secretary and who is responsible for the following document when requested for a copy of the Executive Board minutes of June 10, 1912.

FROM ORIGINAL TYPEWRITTEN COPY OF BOARD MINUTES
WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 10, 1912

ILLINOIS CENTRAL AND HARRIMAN LINES STRIKE

The Int'l Pres. reviewed the course taken by him at the Kansas City Convention in connection with the formation of a Federation of Federations, and supplied each member of the Board with a copy of the minutes of that meeting, which reached him only a few days ago. Further stated that Bro. A. O. Wharton, anticipating the work of the Kansas City gathering, had drawn up a sample constitution, which after some discussion and slight amendment had been adopted, resulting in the saving of a large amount of time of the delegates there assembled.

In connection with the strike vote ordered taken by the Convention he drew attention to Resolution No. 5 printed on page 13 of the Proceedings of the Convention of the Federation of Federations, which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, The crafts composing the Federation of Railroad Employees on the M., K. & T., Illinois Central, and the Harriman Lines have been on strike for the past seven (7) months and are still on strike fighting for the recognition of our Order, and,

WHEREAS, These roads are members of the General Managers' Association and have the backing both morally and financially of that organization, and

WHEREAS, Our members are still at work upon roads that are contributing financially and hauling freight that was formerly handled by these roads; therefore,

Be It Resolved, That a ballot be ordered spread upon every railroad represented in this Convention, and that the members be requested to vote upon the following questions:

First: Shall we demand a Federation agreement similar to the one now being requested upon the Harriman Lines and Illinois Central.

Second: Shall we demand settlement of the strike now in progress?

And Be It Further Resolved, That this ballot be spread upon the Chicago & Great Western and the Santa Fe Railroads."

And in connection with said resolution he had divided the proposition as submitted in Circular No. 13, sent out by him from Washington April 30. He explained that the general officers who were in attendance at the Convention had upon adjournment drawn up a uniform letter which had been sent out by each organization to its respective membership for a vote on the strike; that ballots had been distributed accordingly, returned direct to him, and had resulted in a vote as counted by him of 4,336 in favor and 2,485 against the adoption of the proposition.

Under the Constitution adopted by the Federation of Federations a majority vote of the membership was required, and under the constitution of the I. A. of M. a three-fourths vote was necessary. He pointed out that while our Davenport Convention had gone on record as being in favor of system federation it had not authorized such federation to in any way abrogate our constitution, or to make our organization subordinate to any decision that might be arrived at by such organization.

Bro. Wharton being present, explained that he had heard from the Blacksmiths, who had recorded a vote of 1,429 in favor and 693 against. The constitution of that organization called for a two-thirds vote, so that said vote indicated 15 beyond the necessary two-thirds. The Painters had recorded their vote at 108 in favor and 103 against. The reports of other organizations affected were not completed.

Bro. Nicholson requested information on the character of the vote, whether in counting results the vote of each organization would be considered as a whole or in accordance with the constitution of the respective organizations; also inquiring what significance the majority for and against as declared by each organization would have in the final count. Bro. Wharton explained that in drawing up the sample constitution which had been adopted by the convention he had provided for the questions propounded by Bro. Nicholson, and read sections of the constitution, showing that each organization should take its own vote in its own way and be governed by its constitution, whether a two-thirds, three-fourths, or any other proportion was required by them; that the majority for or against the propositions would be tabulated in the final wind-up, the intention being that after each organization had tabulated its vote in accordance with its laws the number of votes over or under the required constitutional majority would be totaled, those coming under the required majority being compiled as a total negative vote, and those over the required majority counted as those in the affirmative, and a majority of this vote would be considered as the action of the federation, giving each organization the representation to which it is entitled, as near as possible in accordance with its membership.

The International President announced that he had used every endeavor to prevent a general strike being called and would continue to work on those lines, believing that our present financial conditions, general trade prospects and other considerations at this time would tend to render the likelihood of such a strike being successful doubtful. Bro. Wharton endorsed the sentiments of the International President in their entirety.

Signed (Correct)

GEO. PRESTON, G. S. T.,
I. A. of M.

We have now made our case, as far as showing up the attitude of President Johnston of the Machinists and President Wharton of the Federation in relation to the general strike, complete, and it will be well to remember that both of these gentlemen were at this convention in Kansas City on April 15, 1912, and at this convention fell in line with the general strike resolution No. 5 and stepped into the band-wagon with the ultra radical element of the convention.

Mr. A. O. Wharton was elected as President of the Federation at this convention of April 15, 1912, as the candidate of the radicals, and that he was double-crossing his best friends at this convention is fully substantiated in the foregoing document, which is the minutes of the Machinists' Executive Board, inasmuch as the minutes stated that:

"Brother Wharton endorsed the sentiments of the International President in their entirety."

And International President W. H. Johnston of the Machinists is quoted in the minutes as conveying the following sentiments:

The International President announced that he had used every endeavor to prevent a general strike being called and would continue to work on those lines, believing that our present financial conditions, general trade prospects and other considerations at this time would tend to render the likelihood of such strike being successful doubtful.

President Johnston was also elected as President of the Machinists as the *progressive* and *radical* candidate. However, these records will indicate that he did not give the Association the service that would be rendered by a "*dyed-in-the-wool conservative*," for he not only "double-crossed" that element in the Association that made him President in 1911, but deserted the entire membership of the Association after this Kansas City convention of April 15, 1912. You must keep uppermost in your mind that this convention indorsed the general strike proposition "without a dissenting vote," and general strike resolution No. 5 was adopted by the delegates to this convention unanimously. We then find that if it is the duty of

Grand Lodge officers to carry out the wishes and instructions of the rank and file which they are elected to serve, it then became the duty of Mr. Johnston and Mr. Wharton, as well as all other Grand Lodge officers, to carry out the specifications as outlined in general strike resolution No. 5 adopted by the delegates of this Kansas City convention.

If, however, the decision of the delegates at this convention interfered with the individual opinions of Mr. Johnston and Mr. Wharton, it was their full duty to so notify the convention in session and resign as general officers, thereby giving the convention an opportunity to elect someone that would carry out the decisions of this convention. But as their motives from the very beginning were "impure," they said nothing at this convention that would indicate their insincerity, and the fact that they were to leave this convention on a mission of "double-crossing" by going out to work diametrically opposite to the instructions and decisions rendered by the convention, as I have proven by the already quoted Machinists' executive minutes.

We find included in the minutes of the Machinists' Executive Board a statement in the last portion of the paragraph following resolution No. 5, which reads as follows:

He explained that the general officers who were in attendance at the convention had upon adjournment drawn up a uniform letter, which had been sent out by each organization to its membership for a vote on the strike; that ballots had been distributed accordingly, returned "direct to him" and had resulted in a vote as "Counted by him" of 4,336 in favor and 2,485 against the adoption of the proposition.

We can also understand from these minutes that this party that is quoted as "him" is the International President of the Machinists—W. H. Johnston. Note the fact that the ballots were returned direct to "him" and counted by "him," and as it was a secret vote, the result of this vote in a local lodge was not even known to the officers or members of such local lodge; therefore, there was only one man who knew what the strike vote in the Machinists' organization resulted in, and that was this party quoted as "him"—President Johnston of

the Machinists—the very gentleman who these same minutes have credited as stating that he had worked against the general strike proposition and would continue to do so in the future.

What evidence have we to set forth that the Machinists' organization was not "double-crossed" in the counting of the ballots in the general strike proposition by this party quoted as "him" who counted the ballots? None whatever; but we have sufficient evidence to prove that this same party—"him"—double-crossed the Machinists and the Federation in general by the failure to carry out the wishes of the Kansas City convention in respect to general strike resolution No. 5. What, then, could we expect from this same party in relation to the counting of the ballots? Is it not possible that this strike vote was given the "Tammany cut" and judged to comply with individual opinions? This is possible, providing Secretary Preston's document, guaranteed as correct, can be accepted as the truth, which indicates that the ballots were returned direct to this party quoted as "him" and counted by "him."

The large vote in opposition to the general strike vote in the Machinists' organization certainly seems to substantiate the charges I have made against the politicians and machine within the Machinists' organization in relation to their underhanded method and trickery during this time when the strike vote was taken. The fact that these emissaries bagged 2,485 votes in their favor proved that the machine was well oiled up for the occasion, and the worthy brothers delivered the goods in accordance with the wishes of the Illinois Central and Hariman Lines and their aggregation of strikebreakers.

PART II

INDISPUTABLE EVIDENCE SHOWING THE ATTITUDE OF CERTAIN GRAND LODGE OFFICERS AND ORGANIZERS RELATIVE TO THE MEN ON STRIKE AND THE PRINCIPLES OF FEDERA- TION.

THE PALMY DAYS OF JACK BUCKALEW

BEFORE the official results of the general strike vote had reached the men, only three of the International organizations were paying strike benefits. These were the Machinists, Blacksmiths and Boilermakers. The other organizations had cut off their financial support to the men on strike.

The Machinists had reduced their constitutional strike benefits from \$8 a week to \$6 per week. The men having learned that the general strike vote failed to carry, and unable to pay house rent and send their kiddies to school on \$6 per week, were forced to seek employment elsewhere. Conditions finally developed into such a condition of affairs that at some points there was not a man on the picket line. The situation was getting in such shape that someone, some place, had to shake the grates to keep the furnace alive or the chiefs would accomplish their purpose of starving the men off the line, which seemed to be the agreement made between some of the Grand Lodge officers. The pass word was "keep the money" from them and then it will "peter out." J. F. McCreery, President of the Illinois Central Federation, was not doing anything to oil up the machine, and E. L. Requin, President of the Harri-

man Lines Federation, was playing the same invisible drama. They were both well meaning fellows, but lacked the sand that was necessary to keep the Grand Lodge officers from allowing the movement to die out.

John D. Buckalew, a veteran of many strikes and Vice President of the Machinists assigned to the Illinois Central, had trouble in keeping his machinists' district alive and couldn't raise enough money to pay the salary of Business Agent Mollooy out of the district. Handling a strike, however, on a craft district basis was as much in violation of what is termed federation as it would have been if Mr. Buckalew signed up an agreement between the Illinois Central and his district No. 21 while the strike was on. He, like the rest of them, had handled so many individual craft strikes that now he was in a federated movement and in a federated strike, he could not get out of the old rut of doing business, and so there was this old struggle for existence which disregards co-operation.

At the inception of the strike, and for a couple of months after, Buckalew had been successful in getting one thousand per month for his district. Here in July, 1912, his secretary, Mr. W. A. Newman, in his report gave his receipts at \$283.11, which made short capital to maintain an office on, pay secretaries and business agent salaries, traveling expenses, etc. This left no margin for what is necessary to "keep the scabs moving with," let alone strike benefits to men on the line, and the men on the line were getting mighty scarce at this time.

The week before the Kansas City Convention, April 15-23, inclusive, 1912, I wrote an article on the general strike and sent it to the *Liberator* at Sedalia, Mo., for publication. It was published in Vol. 2, No. 34, of the *Liberator* under the caption "What Will They Do?" and got the first two columns on the front page of the issue that was distributed among the delegates in Kansas City. Buckalew was a strong advocate of the general strike and rather liked the rough edges that the article was trimmed with. He therefore decided to drop around for a friendly call on one of his tours of the corn-belt.

After he saw that I was neither chained up nor wore ear-rings, but cut my hair and wore trousers like the rest of the animals, he sat down and chatted about the things that happened to happen. Mr. Buckalew was more than dissatisfied with the situation, and as yet was full of "Pep and ginger." He said that his secretary, Mr. W. A. Newman, had gone to work, and he needed an active man that could devote his time to the movement as his secretary, and this position he offered to me. I thanked him for the honor bestowed in the offer of a seat in his cabinet, but I instantly declined. After he left, however, I rather took a liking to the colonel with his western style combined with a frequent touch of Boston refinement.

Some time after Mr. Buckalew of the Machinists paid me this visit, he wrote me several letters advising that he had a vacancy in his cabinet, and requested that I should give him permission to make the appointment. The following letter speaks for itself:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

CHICAGO, June 14, 1912.

MR. C. E. PERSON,
Box No. 32, Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir: In all strikes of any duration that I have handled before, I have always had what we call a statistician, a position that carries with it quite a lot of work, and I would like very much for you to accept the position on the I. C. I am asking this at this time because the bulletin you are getting out seems to be the right kind and well liked by the men. Therefore, I am sending out a circular to machinists at all points to send you the shop conditions and conditions of the strike at their point three times a week. You then can compile the different reports and send out a bulletin of all points on the lines instead of just from Clinton, as you are now doing.

Let me know at once if you can afford to do this.

I have no news as yet from the strike vote of the West, only what I got from another organization, and that is that the Grand Lodge officers will be in St. Louis, June 23rd, for the purpose of discussing this strike situation.

Write me, 106 N. La Salle St., Chicago.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

J. D. BUCKALEW,
Int. Vice Pres.

To which I replied:

June 15, 1912.

Mr. J. D. BUCKALEW,
106 N. La Salle St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir & Brother: Your letter of recent date to hand and contents fully noted. Will say in response to same that if there is anything that I can do for the interest of the movement, I am only too willing to render my humble service.

However, I don't want to do anything that would make anyone feel that I was intruding on them. If I can compile the reports from the different points without traveling over the jurisdictional lines of anyone else, and to the satisfaction of those concerned, I shall consider it a pleasure to comply with your postulation.

With many good wishes for an effective fight to the finish, I beg to remain,

Yours for victory and federation,

(Signed) CARL E. PERSON.

On the 29th of July, 1912, several strangers were seen stepping off from the "Southern Express." They found their way to the "rebels' camp" and pushed open the door without sending their cards in as a preliminary introduction. There were Mr. John D. Buckalew, his business manager, Mr. H. J. Molloy, Mr. W. A. Newman, secretary, and Mr. M. Hawver, President of District No. 21, I. A. of M., with several other members of the cabinet who served the district in the capacity of Executive Board members. After an acquaintance had been established, a little satchel was placed on exhibition. This was introduced as the corpse of District No. 21, I. A. of M.

About the same time a communication arrived from New Orleans, the office of W. E. Bowen, Secretary of the Illinois Central System Federation, stating that his weekly news letter to the strikers would have to be discontinued for the want of one-cent postage stamps. The "chiefs" were about to realize their dreams. The ship was about to go under. Conditions on the Harriman Lines were about the same. Mr. Wm. Hannon of the Machinists on the Pacific Lines tried to get a convention for Salt Lake to centralize the movement on the Harriman Lines, but he couldn't get it. The machinists' organization,

which had been paying \$6 per week, had now run several months back on their payments and attributed its condition to the shortage of funds.

I was informed by Mr. Buckalew that he had come in with his cabinet for the purpose of devising some method for its resurrection. The Machinists' constitution was readily placed under the microscope and all of the cabinet members called on to come forth with their wisdom as profusely as possible. The attention was called to the cabinet of the defection from precedent on the part of the Grand Lodge office, in handling the strike funds, and the following article of the constitution was read to establish such authority.

Article 7, section 1, Grand Lodge Constitution for 1912,
I. A. of M.:

The revenue of the Grand Lodge shall be derived from the sale of supplies, per capita tax, reinstatements, initiations and income from the journal and such assessments as may be levied by the Grand Lodge.

There was nothing in the Machinists' constitution that authorized the Grand Lodge office to confiscate voluntary assessments and donations that were made for the men on strike. If the Grand Lodge was running short of funds to meet their constitutional obligations, such as paying rent, office expenses, strike benefits, organizers and Grand Lodge officers' salaries, then section 1, of article 7, 1912, Grand Lodge constitution informed them how this revenue could be raised. The law was further looked up and it was found that the Grand Lodge was not complying with its duties, as specified in constitution governing the local lodges, under caption of "Voluntary Donations," article 3, section 7, commencing with the line 3, which reads as follows:

All moneys sent for financial aid from one lodge for another shall be sent through the General Secretary-Treasurer, who will acknowledge receipt of same in the following monthly financial statement.

After a day's discussion the cabinet of the Machinists' district rendered the decision that the Grand Lodge confiscated the funds which were the property of the men on strike, by

diverting the voluntary assessments and donations which were made for the men on strike into their own Grand Lodge treasury, for the purpose of meeting their own constitutional obligations, instead of complying with article 3, section 7. The Grand Lodge laid in waiting for these donations when they were coming "through" and switched them to the "Grand Lodge" treasury, while these lodges which had sent this money were harboring the conception that their strike donations were going "through" the Grand Lodge O. K.

After this very important portion of International law had been exhibited to the cabinet and fully discussed by them, Mr. Jack Buckalew in an extended speech, that not only enthused the entire cabinet but was instrumental in inspiring his business manager, the distinguished Mr. H. J. Molloy, to come forward with a motion to declare war on the Grand Lodge office of the International Association of Machinists. The entire cabinet concurred in the declaration: "Declare war on them for confiscating the money which was the property of the men on strike."

Several circular letters had been sent out by the Grand Lodge office soliciting assessments and donations in the name of the "Men on Strike," such as official circular No. 10, published on pages 292 and 293 of the *Machinists' Journal* for March, 1912, calling attention to the worthy cause the men were on strike for, and requesting local lodges to levy an assessment for them. Many lodges throughout the country complied with the request, assessed themselves and made donations, but instead of the receipts going to the men on strike as specified in circular No. 10, the receipts were diverted to the Grand Lodge treasury, and from there drawn on to feed the different departments that depend on the Grand Lodge treasury for their existence. Those who had put on assessments and made donations had done so because they realized that no man could remain on the line on \$6 per week, and therefore assessed themselves that additional money could be distributed to the men on strike.

Mr. Buckalew explained how the finances were handled in the Missouri Pacific strike and that he was successful in keeping the men on the line because he could pay them sufficient to warrant them staying there, and in no other strike that he had ever handled were the donations made to the strikers confiscated by the Grand Lodge. He stated that "If the Grand Lodge ran short of funds in meeting their obligations, such as paying constitutional strike benefits, Grand Lodge officers' salaries, etc., then those drawing same would have to wait for them until such time in the future as the Grand Lodge could make such payments. Inasmuch as they were constitutional obligations the Grand Lodge would have to meet them in the future when they could do so, but that the Grand Lodge had no right to confiscate the donations made for the men on strike."

The declarations of war were concurred in by the cabinet, and they started to find someone that would carry out their declarations.

Mr. W. A. Newman, the Secretary of the Interior, had another occupation and therefore could not give the cabinet the necessary time to execute its new determined responsibilities. Therefore, Mr. Newman, Mr. L. M. Hawver, President of the cabinet, who happened to be a gentleman from Waterloo, and Business Manager H. J. Molloy, a very eminent parliamentarian and experienced counsel on international law; Mr. P. J. Jensen, a cabinet member from Chicago, and the Grand Lodge representative, the Hon. J. D. Buckalew, insisted and demanded that I serve them in the capacity of assistant to the secretary, under the title of Strike Secretary for District No. 21, I. A. of M.

I had of course about lost faith in mankind, for I had taken the blue prints of the strike from its inception and had studied them carefully and found scarcely anything but a servile mob, obedient to authority, obedient to that authority that forces slaves to dig their own graves. But here was the movement dead, dead all over the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, with the exception of a few points, where a few men

were able to hold on. And dead because the "chiefs" were able to put it over, put it over as never before. After fully considering the proposition I was convinced that there was only one chance to oil up the movement, and that was through the Machinists' district. Rather than to see the movement die at this time, I conceded to their demands and requested that their declarations of war on the Washington office of the Grand Lodge of the Machinists be placed in writing and signed by all the cabinet members, so that if they fell by the wayside, or cried in the storm, they could not declare themselves as not being the charter members of the new rebel district No. 21, I. A. of M.

THE NEW CABINET'S DECLARATION OF WAR

Having received complaint from the men on the line, the following letter was sent to the Grand Lodge of Machinists and reads as follows:

August 2, 1913.

MR. GEO. PRESTON,
402 McGill Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Preston: I am in receipt of several complaints from down the line that the boys have not received their Grand Lodge benefits for the last couple of weeks.

Prompt payments of the few dollars that the boys are getting from the Association is essential for the best interest of our movement, and while I have the best of reasons to think that you are exerting your efforts to this end, I shall, however, appreciate the receipt of whatever explanations you have to make because of the unnecessary delay on the benefits. I beg to remain,

Sincerely yours,

CARL E. PERSON.

We found in the June financial statement that all the Grand Lodge officers had drawn their salaries in full, and therefore felt justified in calling to their attention that those on the pay-roll for six a week had not received their wages regularly.

Vice President Jack Buckalew of the Machinists caused to

be inserted in the *Machinists' Journal* for October, 1912, page 960, paragraph 6, the following:

At a recent meeting of the Advisory Board of District No. 21, I. A. of M., held in Clinton, Ill., Carl E. Person, Box No. 32, Clinton, Ill., was elected Assistant Secretary-Treasurer to Mr. Wm. A. Newman.

In getting a line-up of the situation over the Illinois Central a letter was sent out to determine how many men were still devoting their time to the picket lines at the different points on the system, and the following letter is quoted because of the fact that it comes from Paducah, Ky., and from the President of the Illinois Central Federation, and as Mr. McCreery will for some time play an important part in this story, therefore I wish you to take particular notice of this letter, which reads as follows:

FEDERATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

PADUCAH, KY., Aug. 22, 1912.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:—I am sending you a list of pickets as you reported. Now, brother, these are the men picked out by the different locals to do picket work. You know that this is the biggest shop outside of Burnside, and we consider that it will be necessary to use this amount of men. These carmen I am sending you the names of are doing active picket duty and I wish you would get behind Ryan of the Carmen about them. I have taken up the matter with him, but then the more we push such matters, the better results we get. The Carmen have got enough money to keep those men on the job for two weeks yet, but they are only paying them \$5 per week, and you know that is not enough to live on. The other pickets are holding back to see what is to be done, and, of course, I can't promise them anything. It is entirely with their own organization what they intend to do. It looks like to me that all crafts should pool their money and use it to maintain picket lines only, and stop all other benefits, and that will force the men that do not serve on the picket lines to get out and get a job, and will enable us to keep good men on the picket line.

I will be able in a day or two to give you a report covering the conditions inside the shops. I am,

Yours sincerely for federation,

F. J. McCREERY,
President I. C. Federation.

As you have noted, there is a request by Mr. McCreery in his letter that I should get after President Ryan of the

Carmen because of his failure to look after his men. It will be well to remember that this is by President McCreery of the Illinois Central Federation, and indicates that there is not very much life in the situation, and possibly not very much steam in Mr. McCreery; if there was, he would have started a revolution against the Grand Lodge officers for allowing the movement to die out like this. In a letter of Sept. 9th, after taking the matter up at every point on the Illinois Central System, I found two more carmen devoting their time to the strike in addition to the seven men at Paducah; therefore, in my letter to President Ryan I called his attention to what the situation was on the system in regard to his organization. The letter reads as follows:

CLINTON LOCAL OF THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL SYSTEM FEDERATION,
PROGRESS

CLINTON, ILL., September 9, 1912.

MR. M. F. RYAN,
503 Hall Bldg.,
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Sir and Brother:—I am herewith quoting you the names of several of your men of the Illinois Central strikers who are still on the job for the interest of the movement. These men are more than entitled to some compensation, for they are devoting their time to the cause.:

M. C. Jenkins, member of Union No. 227, Freeport, Ill.

Wm. Blackburn, member of Union No. 291, Carbondale, Ill.

Jno. McCreery, member of Union No. 14, Paducah, Ky.

Tom Hausman, member of Union No. 14, Paducah, Ky.

James Markey, member of Union No. 14, Paducah, Ky.

Feen Lee, member of Union No. 14, Paducah, Ky.

H. W. Cooksey, member of Union No. 14, Paducah, Ky.

Ernest Martin, member of Union No. 14, Paducah, Ky.

E. Lackey, member of Union No. 14, Paducah, Ky.

There is not any of these men receiving strike benefits at this time, and from this we infer that your organization had discontinued paying strike benefits altogether all over the system.

J. F. McCreery of Paducah, Ky., President of the Federation and a member of your organization, should be shown some consideration by your organization, and some arrangements should be made with him for a weekly allowance, sufficient enough to live on. Also, M. C. Jenkins of Freeport. He is also an active man in this movement and always on the job.

I am asking you to look into this matter and see what you can do in allowing these men regular strike benefits. In the event that you are not going to do anything for these men I would thank you if you would advise us if your organization is contributing financially to any

point on the struck roads, or if you are at this time placing money at the command of your men on the Illinois Central.

Hoping that you will comply with our request in doing something for the men whose names I have quoted you in this letter, and that you will favor me with an early reply, I am,

Yours for victory,
(Signed) CARL E. PERSON.

The following reply arrived from President Ryan of the Carmen:

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CARMEN

KANSAS CITY, Mo., September 12, 1912.

MR. C. E. PERSON,
Box No. 32,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your letter of September 9, furnishing me with the names of several of our men on the Illinois Central that are active in the present strike and wanting to know if I was going to do anything to assist them financially, received, and contents fully noted. In reply, therefore, will say that I have been assisting financially all of our lodges on the Illinois Central in so far as the Grand Lodge was able to do so, and it is my intention to continue to assist them further to the full extent and limit of our financial resources.

Trusting that this information will be satisfactory and with best wishes for success, I remain,

Yours fraternally,
M. J. RYAN,
General President.

MFR-C

Mr. Ryan in the above letter does not mention that he is placing any money anywhere, and it can be so understood. He, however, says that he will give his men whatever financial support he can, which indicated nothing at the time. This condition of affairs forced his men to go to work elsewhere, and left none of them to speak of on the system for strike duty.

These letters are published here as a matter of record. After we get further into the circus, subsequent performances can be better understood by knowing the conditions prevailing at this time in the Carmen's organization and the attitude of Mr. McCreery, as well as conditions in Paducah under his immediate supervision.

The following letter is from Mr. W. E. Bowen, who was at this period of the strike Secretary of the Illinois Central System Federation.

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

NEW ORLEANS, LA., August 15, 1912.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: My delay in answering your communication of the 9th inst. was occasioned by my desire to secure the proper material to do the picket duty as set forth in your letter, and I might say that I have not as yet secured the men I would like to have. However, I have one and will soon have the other and you can depend on New Orleans having two on the list, so if you have many returns and are prepared to submit the proposition, why go ahead, but I have my doubts about the ability of the Grand Lodge being able to finance the proposition as submitted. In my opinion it is a wise move, as it can hardly be expected for men to remain on the picket line at this stage of the game without some compensation.

Go to it, brother, and try and make a success of it.

Fraternally yours,

W. E. BOWEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. Bowen's letter is a reply to a circular letter which requests him to arrange for pickets at New Orleans. However, this letter is only in the records so that you will understand Mr. Bowen's attitude regarding the strike, and our new effort to handle the strike. You will meet Mr. Bowen later on in the story.

Mr. L. M. Hawver, President of the new war cabinet, wrote a letter to President Johnston of the Machinists requesting that all donations to the men on strike be forwarded to them through the districts. Mr. Hawver's letter to President Johnston reads as follows:

CLINTON, ILL., September 7, 1912.

MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
402 McGill Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your letter of September 4 to hand and contents fully noted. Will say in response to same that inasmuch as our district has arrived in a critical condition as far as finance is concerned, we are forced to issue our circular letter of appeal for aid.

I had a conference with Buckalew and it was agreed that some fifty-five men can handle the situation on the Illinois Central at this time; however, in order to arrange and keep these men on the line we have to pay them or else it will be impossible for us to keep them there and ask them to devote all their time to the interest of the movement.

The lodges that are paying the assessments are doing so with the expectations that the Illinois Central men or district No. 21 is getting the 40 per cent of the assessments, which we are not getting.

After talking this matter over with Buckalew, it was decided that we should take this matter up with you relative to this 40 per cent of the assessment money that the district should be allowed. What we want to know, Brother Johnston, is this: Will you pay 40 per cent of the assessment money over to our district so that we can pay these men that we are contemplating keeping on the line? Before we can carry out our plans it is necessary that we know this. We note in the August Journal of the donations to the strike fund for the struck roads, which amounted to \$6,602.97. Out of this amount our district should have 40 percent, amounting to \$2,200.97. NOW, BROTHER JOHNSTON, WHAT WE RECEIVED for this month WAS \$11.

It is essential that we get down to a business basis in the handling of this strike, to carry it out effectively. We must get our pro ratio of this assessment money, and we herewith request you to inform us as soon as possible if you can and will comply with our request of forwarding us 40 per cent of the assessment money.

With best wishes for victory and federation, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) L. M. HAWVER,
President District No. 21.

The following letter is President Johnston's reply to the letter sent him by President L. M. Hawver of Machinist District No. 21:

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 10, 1912.

MR. L. M. HAWVER, JR.,
President District No. 21.

Dear Sir and Brother: Replying to yours of the 7th inst. regarding the financial condition of your district, beg to say that the appeals from the Grand Lodge asking local lodges to assess themselves to raise sufficient funds was in order to meet the strike roll regularly. Practically all those now on strike are beneficial, and if the lodges respond we will be able to distribute equitable the money to those on strike.

As to allowing your district 40 per cent, WE CANNOT THINK OF DOING SO. As yet there has been very little received. YOU will notice in the September Journal was received in response to circular No. 10, which was to enable the Grand Lodge to pay the strike benefits.

The general circular was agreed upon by all organizations and each one is sending practically the same appeal, believing that they would be able to handle their own men. The Grand Lodge is under obligations to its members and must pay benefits to those legally entitled to same, and all funds received by the Grand Lodge will be given our members direct, and not through any district. We have a large number of men still on the rolls and it is absolutely necessary if we are to continue and meet our present obligations, regardless of back indebtedness, we must have additional help.

Regretting our inability to comply with your request, I am,

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
International President.

President Johnston laid claim to all strike funds on account of circular letter No. 10, issued in March, 1912. In this letter Mr. Johnston made it very plain that he was using and intends to use any money that was donated to the men on strike for the purpose of meeting his Grand Lodge obligations. It will here be understood that in order to be able to pay Grand Lodge obligations, the Grand Lodge confiscated the donations made and the assessments for the men on strike. Therefore, the men on strike could get no funds outside of the Grand Lodge benefits of six or eight dollars a week, realizing, of course, that after men had been on strike for a year, they could not remain on the line at six or eight dollars per week.

Mr. Johnston speaks of circular No. 10, from which the Grand Lodge took the authority for confiscating the funds; therefore, circular No. 10 is herewith quoted:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 5, 1912.

OFFICIAL CIRCULAR No. 10

I have just returned from an inspection tour of the industrial situation on some parts of the Union Pacific and Illinois Central roads where a strike has been in effect since September 30, 1911, for the purpose of securing satisfactory working agreements for the system federation, and have been in conference with the International Presidents of the several organizations involved, at which conference Ames, Hannon and Buckalew were present.

I am glad to report that we found the strike being handled effectively. The railroad companies are being badly crippled. By their own official statement they admit at some points they have 65 per cent more men engaged than under normal conditions. This large number of men are turning out less than 16 per cent of the work the old reliable trade union employees formerly turned out.

At another point I ascertained from an absolutely reliable source that fifty-two new men are not turning out as much work as could be done with five reliable mechanics.

From the most accurate data obtained and with many startling facts before me, I am of the opinion that the companies will not permit such a drain upon their resources to continue for an indefinite period.

It was the unanimous opinion of the officers attending the conference that they had never before seen manifested a better spirit among men engaged in a railroad strike. This is particularly noticeable because it is really the first federated contest that has been made. All previous railroad strikes were of the one-trade-of-a-time-character. The future welfare of all railroad shop mechanics on all other systems will largely depend on the outcome of this struggle.

Our men on the firing line are in good spirits, full of courage and determination. They are fighting not only for themselves, but for a principle for which we all believe is just, and in addition they are fighting the initial battle for all other railroad men. If they win we will win; if they lose it will mean a continual fight on all other railroads.

In order to make the struggle short and decisive, more money is required. The conference decided to do its utmost to raise more funds and recommended that each organization send out an urgent appeal to its membership. Personally, I am opposed to levying an assessment, but in order to avoid it, more money must be forthcoming to enable us to meet our obligations.

Therefore, in lieu of an assessment I ask that each lodge immediately appoint a special committee to get in touch with every member and secure from each one a voluntary pledge for a specific amount per week or per month during the life of this strike.

And I further urge that each member make an earnest effort to keep his dues paid up to date, so that the Grand Lodge may have the use of the per capita tax for the benefit of our brothers who are making such heroic sacrifices for the benefit of our trade.

In addition to the foregoing, lodges that are able to donate to this exceptional worthy cause are earnestly requested to do so without delay.

All money collected for this purpose should be sent to George Preston, General Secretary-Treasurer. The amount received from each local will be published monthly in our Journal. Let no one hesitate to give, even though his donation be small. What we want is a quick, cheerful, systematic response.

I feel confident that this appeal to the generosity of our membership will not be made in vain. What you do, do at once.

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
International President, I. A. of M.

In this circular No. 10 it appears that Mr. Johnston is appealing to his membership to assist the men on strike and to this end the circular speaks for itself. If the appeal is made for the strikers, then this money, and all subscriptions from this appeal, is the property of the men on strike. And all money subscribed on this appeal should have gone directly to the men on strike independent of Grand Lodge strike benefits. Therefore, if this money did not get to the men on strike, but instead was placed in the Grand Lodge treasury, then such transaction was confiscation, was it not?

If Mr. Johnston found out that his treasury was getting exhausted and reaching that stage where the Grand Lodge officers' salaries and other Grand Lodge expenses were about to be jeopardized, then shouldn't Mr. Johnston have sent out

a circular, stating that there was not enough money in the treasury for his last week's salary and make an appeal to the membership to come across, as he wants his week's salary regularly? Instead of this we find him using the strikers as his excuse for raising funds for the Grand Lodge treasury.

The fact was that on account of the strike many names were added to the payroll of the Grand Lodge. As soon as these men were ordered to strike they automatically went on the payroll of the Grand Lodge for six or eight dollars per week. This six or eight dollars a week were their wages, their week's salary for performing a certain function of the Association, the function of going on strike.

After the strike the strikers' wages of six or eight dollars became a Grand Lodge obligation, just as much as the weekly wages of Mr. Johnston, which was a Grand Lodge obligation. And as long as Mr. Johnston kept these strikers on the Grand Lodge payrolls, just that long was the Grand Lodge under the same obligation to pay the strikers for their week's wages as it was to pay Mr. Johnston for his week's work, as they were both constitutional obligations. Therefore, the treasury of the Grand Lodge was going under, and its funds being exhausted because of the heavy payrolls. But the constitution provides for such emergencies, and sets forth the following specifications in the 1912 Grand Lodge Constitution of the I. A. of M.

In article 7, section 1, page 35 of the Grand Lodge Constitution and reads as follows:

The revenue of the Grand Lodge shall be derived from the sale of the supplies, per capita tax, reinstatement, initiation and income from the Journal, and such assessments as may be levied by the Grand Lodge.

It will be understood in this section of the constitution that Mr. Johnston has no constitutional right to ask for charity when his Grand Lodge treasury gets exhausted or when it gets in a position where either his salary or the salary of anyone that may be on strike, or both of them, are in danger of being put on the waiting list. But the constitution has

made provision for Mr. Johnston to take advantage of, and makes specifications on this subject under "Revenue for the Grand Lodge, which reads as follows:

Page 36, article 7. Under caption Grand Lodge Assessments, Section 2: "When the funds of the International Association of Machinists shall require it, the Grand Lodge officers may levy such assessments as are necessary to meet the expenses, providing they are first made legal by referendum vote of the membership."

We find here that when the funds of the Association requires it, that assessments may be levied, but there is no section that gives Mr. Johnston the right to solicit voluntary funds and assessments for the Grand Lodge and its treasury. Therefore, even though it was the desire on the part of Mr. Johnston to replenish his depleted treasury by soliciting voluntary donations, such transactions were unconstitutional. However, had Mr. Johnston in his circular No. 10 set forth the facts that he wanted to organize certain states and needed money, or that the Grand Lodge officers were demanding their weekly wages promptly, the situation would have been quite different, for those who would have subscribed to his circular No. 10 would have understood that they were doing so for the purpose of keeping up and alive the subsidiaries that fed from the Grand Lodge treasury.

But Mr. Johnston in his circular No. 10 plays up the "War Babies" and plays them up strong and, therefore, those that assessed themselves for the "War Babies" did so out of sympathy for the "War Babies," with full intentions that their funds should and would reach them. If the Grand Lodge treasury was depleted, it was not fair to play on the good fellowship of the membership and ask them to carry the burdens which should fall on the entire membership, in the form of assessments, or an increase in per capita tax. But as Mr. Johnston sets forth in his circular No. 10, "That he does not favor assessments," it is alleged he made a portion of his campaign for International President in 1911 against high dues and assessment and when elected, of course, could not come out

and favor that which he made his campaign issues against. Therefore, the constitution be damned. The idea of getting the money into the treasury by holding up to the membership the "War Babies" as a circus manager tantalizingly discloses half his exhibits, in order to get the crowd on the inside, looked like a better idea to Mr. Johnston than carrying out the regulations and specifications of his constitution.

We have now established the fact that all and any money subscribed on Mr. Johnston's circular No. 10 was the property of the men on strike independently of any wages that they had coming from the Grand Lodge and, as stated, these donations were made, because those that made them realized that the men on the line could not exist on the small wages they were drawing from the Grand Lodge. It is not possible that any lodge assessed itself for the purpose of paying the salaries of the Grand Lodge officers up to date. Had it been so informed in circular No. 10, the members would have said that such assessment should be general and carried by the entire membership, for why should any particular lodge carry the extra expenses of the Grand Lodge? If such were the case, then those that wished to pay per capita tax could have done so, if they so desired, and others would not, and still have the same rights and hold the same membership as those who kept up the expenses of the Association. Therefore, the Grand Lodge confiscated the funds, which was the property of the men on strike, and it will be important to remember this, inasmuch as the confiscation of funds will be an issue that arises frequently in coming pages.

Now that you have read President Johnston's letter of September 10, 1912, as well as his circular No. 10, in which he claims the right of confiscation, and further the Grand Lodge Constitution covering this subject, as well as my decisions, I take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Jack Buckalew, President Johnston's confidential man, handling the Illinois Central strike, for the machinists, who renders his opinion as follows:

CHICAGO, September 4, 1912.

Mr. C. E. PERSON,
Box No. 32,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: I think that you should send out a letter under the seal of your district, with the president's and secretary's names attached, calling attention to the revenue of the Grand Lodge on page 26, article 7, section 1, of the constitution:

Then section 2, in regard to Grand Lodge assessments.

The membership should understand that this is the provision made by our constitution for the Grand Lodge to secure funds to handle its business with. I think it would be well to quote these two sections verbatim, and then call their attention to the fact that the International President has not levied an assessment. If he had, then it would be compulsory for all money to be forwarded to the Grand Lodge, and those not paying assessments would be suspended and the assessment would be uniform to all members of all lodges in our jurisdiction.

Then cite page 40, article 2, section 16. I believe it would be well to quote this verbatim also, showing that a general application for aid by one lodge to another for funds to assist a sister lodge in some cause. It might be for the defense of some other organization or for some brother to be tried, for supposed crime, or for strike purposes. In this case it is for strike purposes, and such money is not the property of the Grand Lodge, according to the constitution.

I personally know that a great many lodges do not want the Grand Lodge to have a nickel of this money, but believe they must send it to the Grand Lodge to carry out the letter of the law. If you have Johnston's decision it will be well to quote such sections of that as would show that he is demanding this money to be sent contrary to the intent and purpose of the lodges that are donating.

I fully believe, Brother Person, this action must be taken to wake the Grand Lodge up to the fact that we do not propose to be monkeyed with in this matter and that they will sooner or later have to allow this money to go where it is intended to go.

We are getting better results now than for some weeks back. With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

J. D. BUCKALEW,
International Vice-President I. A. of M.

Now we have given you Mr. Buckalew's opinion, which, you will understand, is quite different from that of the learned gentleman, President Johnston. Mr. Buckalew states in his letter that we are getting better results at this time than we were a couple of weeks back, so therefore the activity on the part of the district has already given the strike the desired results.

Mr. J. D. Buckalew was authority as far as the district was concerned. He had full power to issue and reissue instruc-

tions and expect that they should be carried out. I was on the job to carry out instructions, providing I was convinced that such instructions were in the interest of the strike, and after fully considering I accepted Buckalew's interpretation of the law and started out to execute it, and defend such opinion and decision when it was necessary to defend it.

The following letter is a copy of one of the many letters sent out by the district after the district started war on the Grand Lodge for confiscating the funds which were the property of the men on strike and reads as follows:

CLINTON, ILL., September 14, 1912.

You are one of that army that rebelled against the jingoism of the autocrats who control the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, and inasmuch as we are also victims of this economic WAR, we are writing you on a subject matter that has much in relation with our progress and ultimate success.

The members of your organization are paying assessments to the Grand Lodge with the understanding that this money is forwarded to the men on the struck roads. However, such is not the case, as this money is confiscated by the Grand Lodge. We have written them concerning this matter and requesting the 40 per cent of the assessment money and donations that the Illinois Central men should get.

We recently sent an appeal to our sister lodges, impressing them with the necessity of financing our projection and send their money direct to our district. However, the Grand Lodge has since issued a circular letter, requesting all lodges to ignore our appeals for finance. From this you can take it for granted that they expect our men to remain on the line and fight this strike on four and six dollars per week. You know that the men cannot devote the necessary amount of time for the interest of this movement on what the Grand Lodge is allowing them as strike benefits.

We are going to compete with the Grand Lodge for this assessment money. It is here that we want to use YOU. We want you to carry on a campaign of agitation in your shop and among your membership to the end that the 40 per cent of the assessment money that the Illinois Central men are allowed be sent direct to the Secretary-Treasurer of our district.

If your membership wants their money to go to dead timber and continue under a system that has driven 90 per cent of our good men off the system and forced them to go to work elsewhere, they should continue to pay their assessment money to the Grand Lodge and donations along with it. However, if they see the necessity of winning this strike, they will place this money at the point of production with the district and the money will be placed in the hands of the men who are giving you something in return for it. We feel satisfied that the men will comply with our request as soon as they understand the situation and that they are aware of the fact that we are not getting this money.

We want you to write the Grand Lodge for yourself, and for the information of your membership, and ask them why this money is not forwarded as expected to our district. We don't object to the money being sent to the Grand Lodge if they will forward it to our district. It is the confiscation of the money that we object to.

There are enough men off the struck roads at the different shops in the country right now, and with the influence that they have to send this assessment money any way they want to send it. GET the strikers together and organize and then you can decide on what is best to do and how you are going to accomplish it. We are working day and night looking after this end of the situation the best we know how. You are one of us and we expect you to do your part at your end of the fight.

There are 90,000,000 reasons why you should be alive and on the job for the interest of this strike. If you have not got an assessment on for the struck roads, see to it that you get one. If this is impossible, take up a collection at your meetings or after pay day and send all money for the Illinois Central men to William A. Newman, Box 162, Mattoon, Ill., and all money for the Harriman Lines to T. G. Alvord, 2212 Lincoln Avenue, Ogden, Utah.

If you care to get our strike bulletin we shall be pleased to forward same to you. Let us hear from you at intervals and tell us what you are doing for the interest of this strike and your success in getting the money sent direct to the point of production.

With sincere wishes, we are,

Yours for victory,

L. M. HAWVER, JR.,
President.

CARL E. PERSON,
Assistant Secretary.

As soon as some of the local lodges were aware of the fact that the strikers' money was being confiscated, they sent their money with special instructions that the money was for the men on strike and intended to go through the Grand Lodge to be recorded, and then forwarded to the men on strike. In some cases when they were instructed to so forward the money, the Grand Lodge returned the money to those who sent it and refused to handle it. Here was an army of men on strike who were expected to make that strike as effective as possible and could not even get enough co-operation from the Grand Lodge of that convention that at Davenport in 1911 sanctioned the strike and decided that it was necessary for the men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines to put up a fight for federation.

There is no question but that there was a determination to sink the ship right after the general strike vote announcement on July 29, but while they were laying down on their own job and waited for the movement to die of itself, we got the machinist district organized. After this period they had to get up and step some to accomplish their purpose. Let it be understood that they did their best to accomplish that purpose.

Mr. Jack Buckalew, Vice-President of the Machinists, and the gentleman who was assigned to handle the strike on the Illinois Central for the Machinists, after being informed of the attitude of the Grand Lodge in refusing to comply with the constitution, instructed another general circular letter to be sent out to all machinist locals. Mr. Buckalew's instructions read as follows:

CHICAGO, September 17, 1912.

MESSRS. HAWVER AND PERSON,
District 21, I. A. of M.,
Clinton, Ill.

I am in receipt of circular letter No. 21 from General Secretary-Treasurer Preston relative to voluntary donations. He admits that the original understanding was that 40 and 60 per cent of donations should be divided between the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, but say that later on they decided to use the money to pay strike benefits, and that such procedure would be continued.

I believe I understand the law of our organization pretty well and the donations that are now coming in are covered on page 40 of the subordinate constitution under article 2, section 18. I remember when this article was drawn up I called the attention of the law committee to the words "General" application for aid.

I had in mind that local lodges might solicit funds from neighboring lodges, or, for instance, in certain sections or districts without the permission of the Grand Lodge, but when a general application was made I was willing for the law to read that the International President should approve of such appeal for aid and that the money should merely go "through" the General Secretary-Treasurer's office as a matter of record, but all said moneys belonged to the lodges in which the appeal was taken.

For instance, the Illinois Central and Harriman Line strikers have sent out an appeal to their sister lodges for voluntary support. The International President suggested that the support should be \$2 per member. Being a well-known fact that this was not adhered to by a great many lodges, as some have no assessments on at all, and others 50, etc., therefore, the action of our sister lodges are entirely voluntary on their part, but the intention is that these moneys should go direct to the Secretary-Treasurer of Districts No. 21 and No. 11.

I personally know that a great many of the lodges are under the

impression that all the money that has been donated went direct to the strikers. Realizing this, I think that it was nothing but fair and just on our part that we issue a circular letter to our sister lodges, citing the constitution under page 40, article 2, section 16. Also calling their attention to Secretary Preston's letter as to what he has done, and what he is going to do with these moneys. You might also cite in your circular letter that it is NOT unconstitutional for them to send the money direct to the district, and that if they do so we will compile a statement once a month and send to the Journal for publication.

If the Grand Lodge has an idea that we can run this strike on four and six dollars per week, they might as well get that out of their head right now, and I am so writing Secretary Preston today.

President Johnston is in Canada and will not return for three weeks, and I am sure he will take no action until he returns, and it will do no good to write Conlon. The thing for us to do is to get our literature to those lodges who are donating and have them send the money to us, unless Preston will agree to comply with the constitution, namely, that this money is for the strike and not for the Grand Lodge.

I desire that you two, as President and Acting Secretary of the district, use such words or language or parts of this letter as you desire and take some immediate action towards getting out a circular.

I am sorry to say that District No. 11 has shown so little activity of any kind in this line. I do not believe it would be wise for me to send out the circular myself. But if some change of heart is not taken among some of the Grand Lodge officers I will certainly do so.

I want to say that the President and Secretary whose names were attached to the Water Valley letter are both members of Little Rock Lodge, and were home on a vacation when this letter was gotten up.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. D. BUCKALEW,
International Vice-President I. A. of M.

We have again had Mr. Buckalew on the stand, in which his testimony as yet differs from President Johnston in regards to the funds for the men on strike. Mr. Buckalew was one of the oldest members in the official family of the machinist organization, and a gentleman whose opinions were taken into consideration when constitutions were altered and written, and as we have seen in his above letter, he makes it plain that the Grand Lodge of the Machinists were at this time holding up the men on strike, and further instructs the district officers to issue such circulars as will convey to the membership Mr. Buckalew's interpretations of the question of confiscation. I wish to call your special attention to Mr. Buckalew at this time, inasmuch as we were facing a storm of organized oppo-

sition, so that you can be able to mold an opinion of what Mr. Buckalew's duty should be in the coming storm.

The following circular was sent out to all machinist lodges in compliance with Vice-President Jack Buckalew's request, and reads as follows:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, DISTRICT No. 21

CLINTON, ILL., September 24, 1912.

TO THE MACHINIST LODGE:

Dear Sirs and Brothers: We are writing you at this time on a subject matter that has much in relation with the progress and ultimate success of the strike situation on the struck roads, and it is our sincere hopes that you will give the subsequent paragraphs your earnest consideration.

Many of the machinists' lodges are paying assessments with the understanding that this money is forwarded to the men on strike independent of their Grand Lodge benefits. However, this is not the case, as this money is confiscated by the Grand Lodge and paid out as Grand Lodge benefits, an obligation that the Grand Lodge should meet from Grand Lodge per capita tax and Grand Lodge assessments.

We have written the Grand Lodge concerning this matter and requesting the 40 per cent of the assessment and donations that the Illinois Central men are allowed. However, the answer was that they could not think of doing so, inasmuch as these assessments were put on to enable the Grand Lodge to pay strike benefits.

The recent Grand Lodge circular No. 21 requested all lodges to ignore all outside appeals for financial assistance, thus cutting off all avenues of income from the men on the struck roads. The Grand Lodge is paying the men on strike four and six dollars per week and inasmuch as this is the only source of income available to them, you can understand that they expect the strikers to continue to devote their time to the best interest of this movement on the basis of four and six dollars per week. We are herewith quoting the sections 1 and 2 of article 7, page 26, of the constitution which relates to Grand Lodge assessments.

Section 1. "The revenue of the Grand Lodge shall be derived from the sale of supplies, per capita tax, reinstatements, initiations, income from the *Journal*, and such assessments as may be levied by the Grand Lodge."

Section 2. "When the funds of the International Association of Machinists shall require it, the Grand Lodge officers may levy such assessments as are necessary to meet the expenses."

From this you will understand that provisions are made for the Grand Lodge to levy assessments to secure funds sufficient enough to handle their business on. The assessment that is paid for the men on the struck roads is the property of the men on the struck roads. It is not Grand Lodge assessment and the Grand Lodge has no constitutional rights to confiscate this money to meet their own obligations with.

If the assessments which was paid for the men on the struck roads was a Grand Lodge assessment, it would be compulsory to forward the money for same to the Grand Lodge, and those not paying this assess-

ment would be suspended and the assessment would be uniform to all members and to all lodges.

When money is sent from one lodge to another the Grand Lodge should act as an agent of exchange and reforward the money to its proper channels. We have no objections to this. It is confiscation of the money that we object to. It is the failure on the part of the Grand Lodge to forward the money to the channels of which the money is intended.

If YOU want to win this strike, you will have to finance the men who are on the job and send your money to the men who are putting up the fight to YOU. It is the men on the struck roads that are on strike and not the Grand Lodge, and if you want to do anything towards a successful termination of this strike, YOU will see to it that the men who are putting up the fight for you will get your money.

If your lodge has forwarded any money for the Illinois Central strikers through the Grand Lodge, this is to advise you that they have not received it in this event; we will ask you to write the Grand Lodge for an explanation.

Several lodges are sending their assessment money direct to our district. If you cannot make arrangements with the Grand Lodge to forward your money to the men on strike, send it direct to our Secretary-Treasurer, William A. Newman, Box No. 162, Mattoon, Ill. He will receipt you for same and forward to the Journal for publication every month a statement of all money received for the district from the lodge it came from and the amount.

The district has about sixty-five men on the system doing picket duty and devoting all their time to the interest of this strike. We cannot keep them there on four and six dollars per week, and it is for this reason that we must have money. There are no dead ones on the district payroll and every cent forwarded to the district will be placed where you will get returns for it.

We are doing everything possible at this end to make the strike a success. However, we cannot finance this movement. It is up to the men who are working to do this. If your lodge has not an assessment on for the struck roads, we hope that you will place one on. If this is impossible, we will ask you to employ other methods of raising funds.

The district has on hand a supply of raffle tickets for a ten dollar gold piece. If you can handle a set of these tickets, write me for them. This is a small proposition that can be worked most any place. We will be glad to furnish particulars to interested parties.

The Illinois Central strikers are allowed 40 per cent of all money raised for the struck roads and should be sent to William A. Newman, Box No. 162, Mattoon, Ill. The Harriman Lines are allowed 60 per cent. This money should be sent to T. G. Alword, 2212 Lincoln Avenue, Ogden, Utah.

Hoping that in the future you will make such arrangements as are necessary to get your money to the men who are putting up the fight for you. With many thanks and best wishes, we are,

Yours for a successful termination of this strike,

L. M. HAWVER, JR.,
President District No. 21.

CARL E. PERSON,
Assistant Secretary District No. 21.

We had now stirred up a little excitement. This circular letter had the men over the country talking about the situation. A few of them were for us, while of course the large number coincided with the Grand Lodge, for the machine with its "sky pilots" can generally bring the "worthy brothers" to their knees by reading to them that prayer under the caption of "In the name of Harmony." That same blanket has brought every illegitimate child into the world and caused many a river to be dragged in search of the girl who was last seen on the "bridge at midnight."

THE BREAK AT WATER VALLEY

Machinists' Lodge No. 61, in Water Valley, Miss., had sent out a circular letter to all lodges in the machinist organization, in which they wanted an expression of opinion in regard to a settlement for the machinists, setting forth that in the circular the advisability of the machinists signing up a contract, or going back to work, and pulling away from the Federation. In other words, it was, go back and scab on the men they had gone out on strike with. Mr. Jack Buckalew of the Machinists writes the following letter:

CHICAGO, Sept. 11, 1912.

MR. C. E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: I have just read the document from Lodge No. 61. I have tried to write a letter about it, and considering that I had a struggle with myself to keep from cussing all the time I was writing it, it will be quite lengthy, but I trust you will get it out and send it over the system. You might send some out on the Harriman Lines.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. D. BUCKALEW,
International Vice President.

After receiving Mr. Buckalew's instructions and the copy of the letter he had written in reply to the Water Valley circular, his instructions were complied with and a copy of Mr. Buckalew's reply to the Water Valley circular sent to all points on the Illinois Central System and many points on the Harri-

man Lines. Mr. Jack Buckalew's reply to the Water Valley circular reads as follows:

CHICAGO, Sept. 11, 1912.

TO THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL STRIKERS:

It is with much regret that I am compelled to call your attention to another misleading discussion and lying circular emanating from Water Valley, Miss. The date shows that the action relative to sending out the circular was on Aug. 23rd. The date on which the circular was written was Aug. 26th. I was in Water Valley on Aug. 27th, spoke to the Federation and also to members of Lodge No. 61. At neither of these meetings did anyone tell me of their desire to take such action as this circular outlines. Therefore, I question whether this was at a meeting held by the stool pigeons of the I. C. or by the bona fide trade union machinists in Water Valley.

For the information of those who have not seen this circular, will say that the gist of it is similar to the Roderick letter advocating the individual contract even to the extent of going back in the shop and working with negroes and scabs and becoming the slaves of the I. C. Ry. Co., with no organization to prevent the cutting of wages or the introduction of piecework or anything else that the company would desire to put into operation.

The letter further states that your district officers held a meeting and voted a certain salary to the President, and then makes considerable comment on the action of the district officers, and talks about living up to the constitution, when nearly every line of the letter they issued is a violation of the constitution. They tell you of this committee meeting and the expenses attached to it, to make you lose faith in your district officers and would further have you believe that they are misappropriating the funds and are crooks in general. To call a district meeting would entail considerable expense which we did not feel were available to handle the business that was absolutely necessary. We have found that the placing of Brother Hawver on a salary has been a paying proposition, as we need someone to solicit finances that we may be able to have money to pay our strikers a little more than the Grand Lodge benefits. Brother Hawver has made a good start and we are not afraid to spend \$80 when we believe we are going to make twice that much on the investment. Besides, I do not believe our membership is so narrow minded as to expect a man to put in all his time in a position of this kind for nothing.

And now, I call your attention to the President of Lodge No. 61, who signed this document. He has been working in Paragould for some time and if he treated the Grand Lodge fair he should have transferred to the nearest lodge to that point, and, therefore, is not on strike in Water Valley.

The journal shows that Bro. H. A. Lyne is Recording Secretary. Bro. Lyne, being a true blue patriot and not in favor of such tactics, was removed from office. Will 61 explain to the membership of district 21 why these things were done? Will they also explain why the biggest kickers in Water Valley have been away to other points and secured positions and really worked as machinists, but are now back in Water Valley operating a disturbance and misrepresenting the strike, which will work to the benefit of the I. C. instead of to the strikers? Will they

also explain why this document was written on the 23rd of August and not sent out until the 8th of September?

For the benefit of the members of district 21 and the Federation in general, I desire to say that on the 27th of August I explained to the members in Water Valley, very fully and completely, everything that had been done to bring about a settlement and told them the company had positively stated no contract would be given to anybody, and therefore, I cannot help but believe that this letter is the product or development of I. C. sympathizers and cannot benefit our organization.

I trust we will not have to say much more about Water Valley and the company's emissaries. With best wishes, I am,

Yours to win,

(Signed) J. D. BUCKALEW.

Mr. George Preston, Secretary-Treasurer of the Grand Lodge, who did not approve of the circulars sent out by the Machinist district, which was sent out to urge the continuation of the strike, and for the purpose of making that strike as effective as possible, approved of the Water Valley circular sent out by Lodge No. 61, I. A. of M., and the letter which Vice President Buckalew asserts was sent out by the railroad company's emissaries. Mr. Preston of the Grand Lodge of Machinists comments on the Water Valley circular in the following letter.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 23, 1912.

(Copy to H. J. Molloy.)

MR. AL. ENDERLIN, Lodge No. 61.

Dear Sir and Brother: I have your favor of the 20th informing me that a copy of circular requested by me has been mailed to the office of the International President.

I have made inquiry for the circular and read it over very carefully, the contents of said circular being entirely opposite to what I expected to find according to the contents coming to my notice regarding it.

Personally, let me say that I regard the action taken by your lodge as being strictly within the prerogatives. No. 61 or any other lodge involved in the strike, especially in a strike that is continued for so long a time, has certainly the right as a lodge to take any action which it believes to be to the best interest of those involved in said strike, and in issuing the circular you were actuated only by a desire to procure an expression of opinion from other lodges involved in the hope of closing up the strike. You were certainly acting within your right, and I assure you I have no sympathy with the adverse criticism that has been levied at Lodge No. 61 for issuing the circular in question.

I recognize the fact that your lodge may be mistaken in the stand that it has assumed in regard to this strike, but as I know personally that you are not the only lodge, and your members are not the only

members involved in this trouble, who believe as you do, I do not think that you should be censured in any way for expressing your opinion, or for making any other effort to influence others to view the situation as you see it.

Whatever may be your attitude in regard to the circular referred to, that should not be allowed in any way to interfere with the prompt handling of your business with this office in connection with which I wrote you a few days ago. With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) GEORGE PRESTON,
G. S. T.

Vice President Buckalew having received a copy of Secretary Preston's comment on the Water Valley circular, makes the following comments in regard to Secretary Preston's attitude towards the men on strike and it will be well to remember that Vice President Buckalew, himself a Grand Lodge officer, regards Mr. Preston's actions as one of the Grand Lodge officers who are favorable to those knocking the men on strike. The letter reads:

Nov. 8, 1912.

Dear Comrade: I am trying to get the goods on some of the Grand Lodge men that are putting in overtime knocking this strike. I have written to several places for letter and find this one. I am surprised at Molloy. You will notice that the letter is dated Sept. 23, and this is the first that I have of it. If Molloy had a copy I think that he should have let me know that the G. S. T. was favorable to the knockers that are still on the job.

Yours fraternally,

J. D. BUCKALEW,
Vice President I. A. of M.

The roads that had already been successful in getting federated agreements regarded the Water Valley proposition as a dangerous one, realizing that if the federated movement was to be surrendered here on the Illinois Central and Harri-man Lines, that their federated movement would be depreciated and their federated agreements taken away from them. Let us therefore put one of them on the stand and see what he says in regard to this proposition. The following letter was written from Princeton, Ind., to the Secretary of the machinists at Water Valley, Miss.:

PRINCETON, IND., NOV. 8, 1912.

MR. A. ENDERLIN, Secretary No. 61.

Dear Sir and Brother: In response to circular of Sept. 28th, sent out by Water Valley Lodge No. 61, in respect to a separate agreement as a possible settlement of the I. C. strike, wish to say No. 543 does not concur to this sentiment. We have a very good Federation agreement, and I think it would be advisable for district 21 to hold out at least for a metal trades agreement. The time for single-craft agreements is past.

But we *do* think that you brothers might do well to treat directly with the I. C. officials and leave Brother Buckalew and other Grand Lodge officers out of it. They have been trying without success for over a year. Now they ought to step aside and give the rank and file a chance. We are prepared to send this same protest to the G. L.

Fraternally,

(Signed) C. P. LOUIS,
Financial Secretary, No. 543, I. A. of M.

So that you will better understand the situation as it was in Water Valley, Miss., let us hear from Vice President J. F. Schmitt of the Boilermakers. He states in the *Boilermakers' Journal* for 1913, page 185:

Superintendent of Motive Power Bell of the Illinois Central and William Leighton had been in Water Valley, Miss., and met some of the strikers through one John Garland. This movement was brought about and this meeting had for the purpose of trying to get some of the men to return to work; also a resolution was put out to withdraw from the Federation, also to form an organization known as the Brotherhood of Railway Shopmen.

The man Garland in this case was a machinist, and William Leighton, a machinist, who was a district representative from Clinton, Ill., before the strike, who went to work for the Illinois Central out of the Park Row station a few weeks before the strike was called. His business was just what Vice President Schmitt says that he was doing in Water Valley, Miss. Mr. Schmitt further says:

I took this matter up with International President Johnston of the I. A. of M and advised the suspension of John H. Garland.

Even our distinguished and learned Mr. Schmitt did not know that the proposition met with favorable mention from the Grand Lodge of the Machinists, and William Leighton was a member in good standing in Lodge 126 in Chicago. Mr.

Leighton and Mr. Garland possibly got their proposition through the Water Valley lodge of the Machinists, for the Machinist lodge got out a letter requesting that the Machinists withdraw from the Federation.

Vice President Schmitt of the Boilermakers was boob enough to think that he could interfere with Superintendent of Motive Power Bell's plans and the efforts of Mr. William Leighton and Mr. Garland, both worthy brothers in the I. A. of M. It was perfectly all right for these people to come around and induce the machinists all over the system, which they did by their circular letter, to turn traitors to the fellows that they went out with in 1911. Anything for a machinist contract these days, on the Illinois Central, and they did not come very far from putting "it over" at that. "Better take a little bit now than nothing at all" was a popular song in the undercurrents and the same song was sung in the undercurrents of the other organizations.

STRIKERS' FUNDS CONFISCATED

The Water Valley circular which Mr. J. D. Buckalew, Vice President of the Machinists, asserted came from the Illinois Central emissaries, was given due consideration from the Grand Lodge of the Machinists. However, should some lodge have wished to get some money direct to the men on strike, there was no time to give this consideration; at this time, some of the lodges in sending in their donations and assessment money sent them to the Grand Lodge with specific instructions that their money must go direct to the men on strike, and could not be used by the Grand Lodge to meet their payrolls with. To give you an understanding how little attention anything got that was in the interest of the men on strike, I am quoting you in full several letters, showing that the Grand Lodge refused to live up to the constitution by accepting this money and forwarding it to the men on strike. The letters read as follows:

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 21, 1912.

MR. C. J. BAER, President Lodge No. 695.

Dear Sir and Brother: Yours of recent date to hand accompanied by check for \$400, which you request us to send direct to the I. C. and Harriman Lines on the basis of 40 per cent to the I. C. and 60 per cent to the Harriman Lines.

We appreciate very much your motive in sending in this amount, but we regret very much to say that we cannot accept money in behalf of the strikers on the basis outlined in your letter.

All donations received by the Grand Lodge must be sent as a donation per circular No. 10.

We are, therefore, returning the check to you and ask that if you still desire it to be sent to them, as per your letter, that you will send check direct. With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

GEORGE B. PRESTON,
G. S. T.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, BLOOMINGTON LODGE, No. 342.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., Sept. 18, 1913.

MR. L. M. HAWVER, President District No. 21.

Dear Sir and Brother: As you requested, so we will respond. In September, 1912, we sent Brother Preston, General Secretary and Treasurer, the sum of \$432 to be divided as follows: 40 per cent to the I. C. and 60 per cent to the Harriman Lines, and he sent back word if we wished it that way we would have to do it ourselves, as the Grand Lodge did not have time.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) FRANK DALTON,
Financial Secretary No. 342.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,

OFFICE OF BUSINESS AGENT

CHICAGO, ILL., Nov. 6, 1912.

Dear Person: I am in receipt of a letter from Lodge No. 27, at Kansas City. They inclose a check for \$28 made out in my name. I have sent letter to Newman so that he may make entry. He will, no doubt, send this to you afterward and you can take care of it.

You will see by this letter that it is another one where the Grand Lodge would not forward to the district, that is the last one they sent. Well, let them go. We will get them yet.

H. J. MOLLOY,

ours for the revolution,
Business Agent of District No. 21, I. A. of M.

Paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Malloy's letter omitted; have no bearing on the strike.

UNION LODGE, No. 27, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS.

KANSAS CITY, MO., Nov. 4, 1912.

Mr. H. J. MOLLOY, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Please find enclosed check for \$28 as donation to the I. C. from Lodge No. 27. Please receipt me for same. I send same to you, as I am not sure as to who receives donations. We have been sending *THROUGH THE GRAND LODGE, BUT THEY RETURNED THE LAST DONATION.*

With best wishes for your success, I remain,

C. J. LATHAM,
Financial Secretary, No. 27.

TWO HARBORS, MINN., Oct. 21, 1912.

Mr. WM. A. NEWMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed find bank draft for \$23.60, or 40 per cent of \$59. I sent the money to the GRAND LODGE to be sent to you, but they returned it to me. Please send receipt.

Yours for federation and success,

J. H. ROBBINS,
Financial Secretary NO. 647.

CLINTON, ILL., Oct. 28, 1912.

Mr. J. H. ROBBINS, Box No. 368, Two Harbors, Minn.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your letter of recent date to our Mr. Newman fully noted. I am herewith forwarding you receipt for the money sent, with many thanks.

I have your letter on file wherein you asked me to let you know if we received the money sent us thru the Grand Lodge, and from your letter I understand that they would not forward it as per your instructions. From this you can understand what co-operation they are giving us.

We are doing all we can to win this strike and with the assistance and co-operation of the men that are working we hope to be able to prosecute this strike to a successful termination.

Again thanking you for your large donation to our strike fund, and with the best of wishes, I am,

Yours for federation,

CARL E. PERSON.

Such were the conditions for any lodge that tried to get the money to the men on strike. The only way the Grand Lodge would accept the money was to accept it into the Grand Lodge treasury, and still there were some men who did not realize that the most important strike breakers the men on the line had to contend with were their own "Grand Lodge officers." The only fence that they have to lean on is circular

No. 10 sent out by Mr. Johnston in March, 1912, the very circular that I have already proven to your satisfaction to be an appeal in behalf of the men on strike. And there can be no question about the intentions of the locals making the donations or having the assessments on for the strikers, as they specify in their letters that their money was for the men on strike, and that it could not be used any other way. Then the Grand Lodge, rather than lay themselves liable any further, take and send them the money back again, instead of complying with the constitution, which reads as follows regarding this subject:

Article 3, section 7 (under caption of Voluntary Donations), line 3: "All moneys sent for financial aid from one lodge for another shall be sent through the Secretary-Treasurer, who will acknowledge the receipt of same in the following financial statement."

In accordance with the Machinists' constitution, it was the full duty of the Grand Lodge to accept this money, make a record of it on their books and then forward it to the men on strike to whom the donations had been made. Mr. Johnston as President of the association had no right to switch any of these donations into the Grand Lodge treasury, or have them so ordered. Mr. George Preston had no constitutional right to refuse the use of his office in sending this money to the men on strike. But such were the conditions on the struck roads, and because of these conditions the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines was lost, and for no other cause.

I again wish to introduce Mr. Buckalew, President Johnston's confidential man in the strike zone. Mr. Buckalew is one of the stars in this part of the play and it is important to carefully weigh his testimony, so that you can fully understand him while performing when caught in the cyclone.

CHICAGO, ILL., Oct. 21, 1912.

CARL E. PERSON, Asst. Secy. Dist. No. 21, Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: I had a talk with Harry Carr of the Rock Island Lines and he tells me that he has done as I requested him to do, write all the lodges under him to send the money direct to the district,

instead of the "THE CONFISCATION ROUTE." I have in mind a few other places that will do the same as soon as I can get to them.

I understand they are looking for some evidence to get me for "INSUBORDINATION." That will be awful, won't it?

Yours for a fight to the finish,

J. A. BUCKALEW,
Int. Vice President I. A. of M.

You will understand that the Grand Lodge is now getting after their man Jack Buckalew and his letter indicates the Washington "spotter" is looking for evidence to take him in on. Therefore, let us carefully note if Jack Buckalew was big enough to stand his ground in the storm that followed.

JOHNSTON'S OFFER TO COMPROMISE

President Johnston wired Buckalew and Malloy to go to Clinton and from there take me to St. Louis, Mo., where we were to meet President Johnston for a conference at the new St. James Hotel. Both Buckalew and Molloy drove into "The Camp" and served me with the indictment. Both of them appeared nervous, and Jack Buckalew started to explain that he was a Grand Lodge Vice President, etc., and that it was best that he "went along" with the machine as far as possible. As soon as I said, "Why, sure, Jack; we will go down and meet his 'highness' and I will take the responsibility for the furnace 'being shook up.' Both you and Molloy can play ignorant of what has been done." The melancholy expressions on both of them disappeared when they found that I was willing to shoulder the responsibility for the "entire war cabinet."

We arrived in St. Louis on an early morning train. Of course, I was a crude looking individual—hadn't been out of the *corn-belt* for a long time—and here I was about to meet the "President" absolutely ignorant of the rules of metropolitan etiquette. My only college education was my "round-house dictionary." But Buckalew and Molloy were fine traveling companions and manicured me up the best they could

for the appointment. There was only one spot that they couldn't sandpaper, and that was my determination "to ask no favors and give none," and so we met the "President."

The conference took place at the St. James Hotel, where a room had been arranged for the occasion. After the customary greetings, Mr. Wharton fixed the position of several chairs into a circle at one side of the room, which left Buckalew and Molloy sitting on the side of the bed. While I was waiting for Mr. Johnston to introduce the charges for which I had been called on the carpet, he slowly extracted a small book from a handful of documents that he had lifted from his inside coat pocket, and simultaneously precipitated his vision towards Mr. Wharton.

As I turned around to search for the attracting causes of Mr. Johnston's peculiar actions, I observed Mr. Wharton giving Buckalew and Molloy a Bowery drop from the corner of his eye.

"Yes, I've been a comrade now for eighteen years," said Mr. Johnston, and as he passed a small book over to Buckalew he added, "and I was the party's choice as candidate for governor of Massachusetts at one time."

"I am proud of my red ticket," said Wharton as he started to pass his due-book around for inspection.

"We have a fine little movement in Topeka," said Buckalew as he started his book out for the once-over by the comrades.

As I sat there perfectly injured over the cheapness of the situation, smiling Hugh Molloy was introducing his ticket, after which a conversation was carried on for my benefit. They had, of course, agreed among themselves to put on this preliminary show for the purpose of persuading me to "come along," being fully aware of the fact that I had read Bellamy's *Looking Backward* with great delight and considered Karl Marx one of the family.

As soon as Mr. Johnston discovered that his grandstand play of trying to get harmony restored on the strength of

his red ticket was a failure, the question of the last circular letter that I had sent out from Clinton charging the Grand Lodge with confiscating the money came up.

Mr. Johnston protested against the word "confiscation" being used, and I said that I thought "confiscation" very appropriately described what his Grand Lodge office was doing with the strikers' money. Well, he said this circularization had to be stopped; that he would not tolerate it, and therefore was willing to come part way with the strikers. Mr. Johnston said that Mr. Wharton and himself had talked it over and that he would give the men on strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines 25% of the strike assessments and donation. Buckalew said nothing, and Malloy the same. While they were waiting for me to say something Mr. Wharton spoke up and said that he thought this was a very generous proposition. I then told them that I wanted to get for the men on strike every penny that was theirs, and if he was not willing to concede this, I could take nothing. I told him I had no authority to give the Grand Lodge 75% of funds that were the property of the men on strike—the men who were putting up the fight on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines—and that such property had been donated by certain machinist locals for the men on strike. *Mr. Johnston then declared that the strikers would not get anything.* "Very well," said I, "we shall continue to fight you for this money that belongs to the men on strike."

I returned to Clinton, Ill., where President Hawver of the District had also arrived, and told him of the St. Louis proposition made by Mr. Johnston and Mr. Wharton. He had heard that Mr. Johnston was to be in Chicago the following day and wired Malloy to meet myself and President Hawver in Chicago, where we also met Mr. P. J. Jenson, an executive member of the District. We found President Johnston at the Kaiserhof Hotel, where he was in conference with a committee representing the Chicago & Northwestern machinists. We were granted a conference in which we further dis-

cussed the subject, but he stood by his St. Louis proposition of 25% for the men on strike out of the money that had been donated them, or nothing. Here President Hawver of the District served notice on Mr. Johnston that there would be war with "no compromise" if he was going to hold up the men on strike by confiscating the donations made to them, and that we should at least carry this information to those that were making these donations, so that if they still sent their money through the Grand Lodge they would know that they were not assisting the men on strike, but assisting the Grand Lodge treasury and helping to feed its subsidiaries.

By this time, as you can understand, the District that Jack Buckalew carried into the "Rebel's Nest" on that sunshiny August day was very much alive. We had been successful in attracting the attention of the Washington office and they had offered to compromise on the funds. If this money was not the property of the men on strike, then Mr. Johnston had no right to make us an offer of the 25% of the money, and the fact that Mr. Johnston made this offer of 25% was an admission that the money was the property of the men on strike, who, in this case, were entitled to all of this money.

THE FEDERATION REORGANIZED

At the time of my appointment as strike Secretary for the District, I accepted the work under the conditions that as soon as we could get some life into the district this organization would be turned over to the Federation, inasmuch as it was a federation that we went on strike for, and that the movement to get the proper and best results must be handled as a federated strike. The time had arrived when the change should be made, so that all of the International Presidents could be "oiled up." President J. F. McCreery was still sitting on "the corpse" of the Federation in Paducah, Ky., while he should have been on the job shaking things up, as was done in the Machinist organization through the District. Business

Agent Molloy and President Hawver of the District wired for Mr. J. F. McCreery, President of the Federation, to come to Clinton.

Mr. McCreery drove in and he was informed of what had been accomplished through the Machinist District, and seemed to be more than satisfied. Mr. Molloy and Mr. Hawver offered to give him the Machinist District, but demanded that he run it as a Federation and get things stirred up and into action in all the organizations affiliated with the Federation, and that he keep things stirred up so that it would be known that there was a strike on. Vice President J. F. Schmidt of the Boilermakers and Mr. A. O. Hoard of the Sheet Metal Workers had called in at the "camp" and they, too, agreed that we should all get together on the federated basis of handling the strike. Mr. McCreery accepted the proposition Mr. Molloy and Mr. Hawver made him, and stated that he could only act as President, as he had in the past, and that he thought the proposition was too big for his secretary, Mr. W. E. Bowen of New Orleans; further, that Mr. Bowen was not equipped to handle the situation.

It was then suggested that I should serve them as secretary for the Illinois Central System Federation. I refused on the grounds that I had done my share in getting the District into action for them, and now that they had something to start with there was no need of my services in the future. For three days they looked around for someone to serve them as the secretary for the Federation and could find no one that was willing to take it. Mr. McCreery, Mr. Hawver and Mr. Molloy then decided that if I could not be persuaded to accept the secretaryship of the Illinois Central System Federation, they wouldn't be able to carry out their expectations of finally getting the strike handled on federated basis. Rather than to see what we had already accomplished "go under," I consented to act as their secretary, and a declaration was drawn up and signed by Mr. McCreery, Mr. Hawver and Mr. Molloy of what was to be done, such as inaugurating a federated

effort in the handling of the strike, start a strike bulletin in newspaper form, route speakers, make arrangements for mass meetings and inaugurate every federated effort in the handling of the strike that it would be possible to inaugurate, place pickets at as many points as possible and increase their number as soon as financial conditions would warrant and solicit funds, etc.

I requested President McCreery of the Federation to submit the proposition that was made to his Federation by the District officers to all of his Executive Board members, to the Executive Board members and Advisory Board of the Federation which was elected at the Memphis convention on May 1, 1911. If they would approve of the proposition as made by the District officers, including my election as secretary of the Federation, then very well, I would go to work, for I would then be the authorized and legal Secretary of the Illinois Central System Federation, just as much as Mr. McCreery was its President.

Before Mr. McCreery left on an evening train, the War Cabinet had a meeting. It was here understood that Mr. McCreery was going out on the road, and also his former secretary, W. E. Bowen of New Orleans, to hold meetings, raise funds, etc., and the District officers and Mr. J. F. McCreery signed up all the documents. I was afraid that some of them would get yellow, especially Mr. McCreery, who had sat on the coffin so long in Paducah. I figured that if it was possible to get him to "brush up" at all, it would be a spasmodic demonstration and would wear off in time, like the little girl who got a new doll and sat up all night with it, then let the puppy pull its hair out and little Brother Mike the sawdust from its legs.

I asked President McCreery and the rest of the "War Cabinet" what their position would be when the chiefs should hear of this new undertaking and start to fight us. Mr. McCreery jumped to the floor and declared to h—l with anyone that would hinder or interfere with his sacred undertaking, and,

as he fell over the table to throw me his hand of good fellowship and assurance, that although others might falter or drop by the wayside, I would always find him as a comrade near, and if we should get caught in the storm he would always be there with his sturdy arm of protection.

Business Agent Molloy and President Hawver of the District said that here is for war on the "*strikebreakers*," meaning the *Grand Lodge officers*. I stated my position and that I was going to go the limit and had decided to "play ball" and expected them to do the same; but regardless of what they would do, I was going on and would not lose any time over them should they get yellow. The District then paid the expenses of President J. F. McCreery's trip from Paducah to Clinton and return of \$28.25, and Mr. McCreery left to submit the new proposition to his entire Advisory Board on the System Federation, which he did in a letter dated at Paducah, Ky., November 5, 1912, and reads as follows:

PADUCAH, KY., November 5, 1912.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE I. C. SYSTEM AND ALLIED LINES:

Brothers: Greeting: The following letter received from the officers of District No. 21, I. A. of M.:

"Clinton, Ill., November 3, 1912.

"Mr. J. F. McCreery,
"President I. C. Federation,
"Paducah, Ky.

"Dear Sir and Brother: We are in receipt of information that the official bulletin of the Federation will be discontinued within a short time because of financial difficulties. We believe it important that a bulletin be published and are willing to co-operate with the System Federation in order to bring this condition about.

"You no doubt are aware of the fact that District No. 21 has been publishing a bulletin which, from comments made, is very satisfactory. Because of this we do not wish to discontinue our bulletin; neither do we wish to continue it if by so doing we would stir up any discord in any craft affiliated with our Federation.

"If you wish to co-operate with us in an effort to bring about a better bulletin than we now publish we would like that you submit to the Executive Board of the Federation this proposition.

"We have learned by experience that the broader circulation our bulletin has had, the more effective our strike has been. Recently Dis-

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

trict No. 21 made an effort to guarantee additional pay to the pickets and sent out appeals for financial assistance in order to maintain such pickets. We find that those organizations donating on these appeals are desirous of having our strike bulletin. Because of this we feel that the bulletin should be enlarged and a copy sent to all those lodges making donations. This plan has been very successful in our district and we feel that with the proper interest taken in promoting the same systematic campaign in the Federation that a federated bulletin, appeals from the Federation, pickets under the direction of the Federation and all the matters to be handled through the Federation as a federation can be made equally effective.

"We hope that you will submit this matter to your Executive Board and upon the approval of same that this method be put in effect as early as possible.

"Yours for federation,

"L. M. HAWVER,

"President, District No. 21.

"H. J. MOLLOY,

"Business Agent, No. 21."

After going over the subject matter of this letter, I see no reason why, if this plan as outlined by them has been so successful with District No. 21, it could not be adopted and put in use for the Federation as a whole.

In taking up the matter with them I find that they are willing to co-operate with us in handling this matter, and Brother Carl Person, who is now getting out the Clinton bulletin, has offered to take charge of this matter and issue the bulletin from Clinton, where he has the facilities, as well as it being one of the central points on the system, and that the bulletin be issued from this office, and as soon as possible, and that the strike bulletin be gotten out in newspaper form, issued weekly, for which subscribers will be solicited at ten cents for six months, or as much as a subscriber wishes to give, and that an effort will be made to get as many subscribers as possible, and we hope to be able to get some ten thousand of them.

Such money that is made on the strike bulletin, and other money that can be raised, will be used to maintain such pickets at the different points on the system that is necessary for the best interest of this movement, and in this way to concentrate our efforts in one line of action, or in this way carry out a federated effort in handling the strike.

Brothers, it is very plain to be seen that we cannot exist as a Federation along the line that has been followed out as per the constitution, and therefore we must devise such means and ways that is to the best interest of this movement at this time, and with this view to end I am submitting to you the proposition as outlined in this letter.

After due consideration of this matter, please advise me before the 10th of November.

Yours for federation,

(Signed) J. F. McCREERY,
President, I. C. Federation.

WASHINGTON IN GREAT EXCITEMENT

In the meantime h—I was popping in Washington. The Water Valley letter that was sent out for the purpose of breaking the strike and, according to Jack Buckalew, against the best interest of the men on strike, was fully considered by General Secretary-Treasurer Preston of the I. A. of M., inasmuch as a portion of the Water Valley letter accused the District officers of building up an organization just to make jobs for themselves. Therefore, Mr. Preston started out to make an investigation and wrote as follows:

November 2, 1912.

MR. C. E. PERSON,
District No. 21.

Dear Sir and Brother: Owing to the statement made broadcast by No. 61 to the effect that President Hawver is drawing from the voluntary fund the sum of eight dollars per month, notwithstanding the fact that he continues his name on the payroll for Grand Lodge benefits, I, at the suggestion of the International President, request that you will send in at your earliest convenience statement of the receipts and disbursements of District No. 21 since the commencement of the strike.

There has been numerous circulars issued by the International President of the other organizations involved, and in contrast hereto several circulars have been issued by District No. 21, seeking to counteract the advice and instructions of the International President. We would like to have statements of receipts and disbursements of District No. 21, so that we can protect not only the Grand Lodge, but the GOOD NAME of the District.

I also desire to inquire whether you, as Assistant Secretary, are drawing any salary similar to what is being supposedly paid to Hawver, and we would especially like to be favored with a statement of all amounts paid by the District to Business Agent Molloy. In fact a complete statement of receipts and disbursements of District No. 21 appears to be necessary for the future protection of all parties concerned.

With best wishes, I am,

GEO. PRESTON,
G. S. T.

I replied to Secretary Preston as follows to enlighten the gentleman on the information he took for granted as the truth in the Water Valley letter:

CLINTON, ILL., November 16, 1913.

MR. GEO. PRESTON,
402 McGill Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: I have your letter relative to our financial standing. Will say in reply that in a few days we shall hope to forward you the required information. It will take some time for me to copy it all off with the facilities I have to do work with. However, we are more than glad to forward you with any and all information relative to our financial affairs.

It is only two months since I have had anything to do with the District business and during this time I have forwarded President Johnston with a financial report. I am herewith forwarding you with our report for October.

I note what you say in regard to President Hawver. Our report will show that we paid him for the month of October \$56. I also note what you say relative to our H. J. Molloy. We paid him \$50 for October, which was allowed to us by the Grand Lodge. Our report in its complete form will give you all this information.

Next comes my salary. Our report, when you receive it, will not show where there was any money paid to me. The Grand Lodge has paid me four dollars per week since the strike, with the exception of the three months that they are back on their payments. I have not the obligations to meet that Brother Hawver and Molloy have, and therefore there is no necessity of the District paying ME.

For your information I might state that I am not in this movement for the money that is in it, **BUT FOR THE GOOD I CAN DO IT.** My head is not filled up with dollar marks, and if it were, I would go some other place outside of the labor movement to exercise it.

Words cannot express my deep appreciation to you if YOU are, as you say, trying to protect the good name of District No. 21. However, I am very much inclined to believe, from the support we have already received from the Grand Lodge in the past in the handling of this strike, that if we were to leave it to the Grand Lodge to protect its so-called "*GOOD NAME*," we would be placing it in jeopardy and with some very reckless company; and because of this you shall find us very much on the job when the District's interest is in question, and we shall try and assist you as much as possible in defending its "*GOOD NAME*."

We shall continue our fight for federation in a vigorous campaign, and in this we shall court criticism and challenge investigation. We shall wage our battle against the despots of organized dollars from Wall Street as effectively as possible, and stand ready to meet all their auxiliaries on the same degree of aggressiveness, the anti-federations of the Machinist organizations and their Washington office included.

Thanking you for your inquiry, and hoping that we will be able to get you the desired information without too much delay, I am,

Yours for victory,

(Signed) CARL E. PERSON.

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At this time reports were coming in from all over the country from different lodges that they were unable to get their money through the Grand Lodge for the men on strike. It was therefore decided to take this matter up with President Johnston and call his attention to Secretary Preston's action in returning the money to the lodges instead of sending it to the men on strike as per the constitution. I therefore wrote the following letter to President Johnston:

CLINTON, ILL., November 9, 1912.

MR. WM. H. JOHNSTON,
402 McGill Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: I want to inform you of the fact that some of your lodges have recently sent money to Preston with instructions that this money should be sent to us. The money has been returned to the lodges with information that the Grand Lodge would not forward this money as instructed.

Such has been the case with Bloomington Lodge, Kansas City, Lodge No. 27, Two Harbors, Minn., and a good many other lodges. I have good reasons to believe that this work is carried on and that you are not aware of same, and for this reason I am taking the matter up with you.

We do NOT care to run out another circular letter causing more discord. If you have an office organization that is carrying on this work to the disinterest of our efforts and you not knowing about it. In this case it would not be the proper thing to circulate the lodges again. At any rate, I cannot believe that you have instructed Preston to return this money and not forward it to us.

We hope to hear from you at an early date relative to this matter, and in the event that the above mentioned is your instructions, we will send out a letter to all lodges informing them that the Grand Lodge has refused to handle our money.

Brother Johnston, we have at this time an organization. We have our men doing effective picket work. We are now paying them four dollars per week from the District. We are advertising the strike all over the country. We give an itemized financial statement and account for every cent sent us every month. WE WILL fight the Grand Lodge or anyone else that is working to our disinterest in making our strike effective. We are on the job to see this strike through on an aggressive and business-like method. A few of us will sell the few feet of real estate we have acquired, if we have to, in order to prosecute this strike to a successful termination.

It is, indeed, to be regretted that in an industrial WAR of this kind we do not even receive the co-operation of our parent organization, an institution of which we are part and parcel of, and whose future existence we are endeavoring to protect.

If we have come to the parting of the ways on this matter at this time, WE MIGHT AS WELL DECLARE WAR. We will run out a circular letter every day if necessary, and send men on the road in

order to get the money that is coming to us, and the money that is intended for the men on strike.

We have many letters on file at this office from different lodges stating that they have been of the opinion that all this time we have received the money that they have sent through the Grand Lodge independent of the Grand Lodge benefits.

You will see from our financial statement that we will forward you in a couple of days that we have been successful in getting the money lately, which are good indications that they want to place the money with the district.

We shall await your answer with much interest, and hope that we can get your co-operation for the future success of this movement.

Sincerely yours,

CARL E. PERSON.

President Johnston of the Machinists was absent upon the arrival of the foregoing letter, and therefore Mr. P. J. Conlon, Acting President, favored us with the following reply:

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 14, 1912.

C. E. PERSON,

District No. 21.

Dear Sir and Brother: Yours of the 9th to President Johnston hand, and as he is attending the A. F. of L. convention, permit me to say that we do not like the tone of your letter or threat to circularize our association and declare war on the Grand Lodge officers if we do not do so and so. **THE TAIL HAS WAGGED THE DOG LONG ENOUGH**, and mean to say a few words to you on the question of issuing a circular.

Our G. E. B. is a standing jury in our association to hear any complaint against the Grand Lodge officers, and you have access to that jury always, through an appeal, which has not been exercised up to date. Now, any further circulars issued by you or any other district officer criticizing or ridiculing the Grand Lodge as to the officers, the method of handling our affairs, without first seeking redress through our G. E. B., will be sufficient cause for us to suspend the officer or officers whose names are attached to the communication and the date on same in line with the G. E. B. at its last session, which is as follows:

IN CASE OF REPETITION OF THE PUBLICATION OF OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN THE PUBLIC PRINTS, WITH OR WITHOUT THE PROPER STEPS BEING TAKEN ACCORDING TO OUR CONSTITUTION, THIS GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD WILL FEEL IT TO BE ITS DUTY TO TAKE SUCH MEASURES AS MAY BE BEST CALCULATED TO PUT A STOP TO SUCH PRACTICES.

We desire to say that some lodges have sent us money with request it be sent to certain places, and, as we have seen communications which we believe are responsible for such instructions, we have sent them our side of the case that they may fully understand what they were doing, and in most cases received replies that our explanation was satisfactory

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and for us to place our donation in the General Fund. If this procedure does not meet with your approval, then ask the G. E. B. to instruct Brother Preston to handle the donations in accordance with your wishes; that until you take up any grievances with the Board, we want to warn you on the matter of issuing any more circulars. PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT THE ACT ITSELF WILL SUSPEND THOSE RESPONSIBLE ON THE DATE THE CIRCULAR IS ISSUED.

Fraternally yours,

P. J. CONLON,
Acting President I. A. of M.

It will be understood here that Secretary Preston's action insofar as returning such money as they could not switch into the Grand Lodge treasury met with the cherished support of Acting President, Mr. Conlon, of the I. A. of M. His letter indicates further that when the money arrived at the Grand Lodge office with special instructions that it was for the strikers, independent of their strike benefits, it was held up until sufficient salesmanship was brought to bear to release the money into the treasury of the Grand Lodge.

In reply to the letter of Mr. Conlon in which he instructs "the tail to quit wagging his dog," the tail again shakes up Pete Conlon's dog with the following:

CLINTON, ILL., November 17, 1912.

MR. P. J. CONLON, President, I. A. of M.,
402 McGill Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: I have your "belly-wash" of the 14th inst. to hand. Have noted same very carefully. I am herewith forwarding you our October report with a letter that we are sending out to your lodges. You can consider this as a starter.

If YOU think that I am going to lay down on the job when I see an organized movement in motion to annihilate Federation and the little effort the workers are making for solidarity, YOU are very much mistaken and only entertaining delusions.

If in the event I am presented with expulsion, precipitation and extermination from the files of the Washington office, I shall always remember this document as a reminiscence from an encounter with the powers of autocracy, and shall always refer with pride to its captivity. I am,

Yours for expulsion,

CARL E. PERSON.

As you may understand, Mr. Pete Conlon and Mr. Johnston and his Executive Board were not very strong for publicity at this time. They did not want the "Worthy Brothers" throughout the country to know the game they were playing by confiscating the strikers' money, so that they could keep the Grand Lodge treasury above water and draw their salaries in full every month (reference, Machinists' financial statements from 1910 to 1916). You'll find that they all got theirs, while poor Jones, with a wife and seven kids, on the line, who had eight dollars per week coming as his wages, was cut down to six dollars. At that, he had to wait a couple of months for it before he got it. I am not making any complaint about the constitutional strike benefits for Striker Jones on the line. The complaint was that the money donated to the strikers, that they should have received in addition to their Grand Lodge strike benefits, was confiscated by the Grand Lodge and used by them to meet their Grand Lodge obligations, and therefore not placed with the strikers as an addition to their Grand Lodge strike benefits, which was the intention of those who were making the donations.

Had the strike donations not been confiscated by the Grand Lodge, but distributed to the men on the picket line, it would have amounted to some five dollars per week. Then, if the Grand Lodge was unable to pay their constitutional strike benefits, the men on the line would have to wait for same, but they could get credit or make loans amounting to this much, and pay such loans when the Grand Lodge could make their payments. This would have placed some sixteen dollars per week to the men on the line and they could have stayed there, put up a fight and won the strike. But this would have placed the Grand Lodge in the position of cutting down Grand Lodge expenses or putting on a Grand Lodge assessment, or assuming an indebtedness of back strike benefits that they would have to meet in the future. Therefore, they decided to use the voluntary assessment and donations that was the property of the men on strike when paying the men on strike their Grand

Lodge wages. So, if anyone was going to assume an indebtedness in the future on account of the strike, they were determined that John Jones, Smith and Brown on the line were going to do so.

It was very well for poor Jones to slip a plaster on his cottage for the sake of the "cause," but not an International union whose decision it was that Jones must go on strike to build up respectability for that International union. The consequence was that the International union, the Grand Lodge, came out of the strike with practically the same bank account that they went into the strike with (reference, Machinists' financial statement for September, 1911 and 1915), while Jones and Brown lost the cottage on the hilltop and Smith his furniture, and many others put on an indebtedness for many years to come because of the principle that was at stake. These men were the real men in the struggle; they paid the price while the Grand Lodge was prospering and did not place itself under any obligations for the future. Indeed, they played the game of the "other woman in the case" who was jilting her merchant lover.

To turn the searchlight of publicity on this underworld drama was not to be tolerated at all. Therefore, Pete Conlon's letter of November 14 requesting the "tail to stop wagging the dog." On November 16, 1912, a circular letter of thanks to those lodges that were sending their money direct to District No. 21, I. A. of M., was sent out, accompanied with an itemized financial statement of all receipts and expenditures. A copy was also sent to Washington, the Grand Lodge of the Machinists.

The following letter, which was a District circular, was also sent to Mr. Conlon with my letter of the 17th, 1912:

CLINTON, ILL., November 16, 1912.

TO THE MACHINIST LODGE.

Dear Sir and Brother: We are herewith forwarding you a copy of our financial statement for the month of October. From this you will note that we make an itemized account of every dollar sent us.

We note from our Machinists' journal that you are sending your

assessment money and donation to the Grand Lodge, and because of this we wish to inform you that at this time there are many of the Machinist lodges placing their money with us.

We are placing the money forwarded us in such channels that is for the best interest of this strike. We are paying those who are on the job and are doing picket duty. We are advertising the strike. We are sending out a strike bulletin. We are maintaining an organization that is putting up a fight and making the strike as effective as possible here on the Illinois Central.

If in the future you can see your way clear to place your money with us, we will give you the results for it; give you an account for every dollar of it; place it in such channels that the Illinois Central Railroad Company will have to spend many hundred dollars for every dollar spent by you.

The Grand Lodge is paying strike benefits at the rate of four and six dollars per week for the money you are sending them. This little amount will keep nobody on the job. It will keep no movement alive. It will not handicap the company in running their trains, and because of this we are soliciting your money.

Hoping that you will go over the enclosed report carefully, and thanking you for past favors and future co-operation, we are,

Yours for victory,

CARL E. PERSON.

On November 18 Secretary George Preston of the Grand Lodge of the Machinists issued the following injunction, which speaks for itself:

DEPARTMENT OF G. S. T.

November 18, 1912.

Regardless of any effect the circulars issued by District No. 21 may have had on your lodge, we deem it advisable to place the following in your hands:

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 15, 1912.

In response to the letters we have received from our lodges in regard to circular issued by District No. 21, I beg to state that being unable to answer each letter personally, some being in favor and some opposed to the circular referred to, I beg to make the following reply:

The men issuing these circulars and those in whose behalf they *ARE SUPPOSEDLY* acting have received from the Grand Lodge not only its surplus on hand September 31, 1911, but have received practically the entire benefit of August and October, 1911, assessment plus the regular income of the Grand Lodge for nearly a year. In addition to this we have paid out to them the loans obtained from local lodges (about \$27,000) on which we are paying 4½% interest, and in addition thereto the Grand Lodge is now indebted for strike benefits unpaid reductions in payrolls to these men the sum of about \$200,000. The Grand Lodge being so far in debt, and being unable to continue benefits with a reasonable degree of promptness, the International President on March 5, 1912, issued circular No. 10 and requested all voluntary donations to be sent to this office to assist the Grand Lodge in paying benefits equally.

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Later, on July 29, he sent out circular No. 19, requesting all lodges west of Chicago to levy voluntary assessments of \$2.00 per member per month, which were also to be sent to the Grand Lodge as per agreement of the International officers of all organizations composing the Federation of Federations. Read over mentioned circulars.

After all we have done, as set forth briefly, District No. 21 in the pretense of addressing "*THE REBELS OF AN ECONOMIC WAR*," tell you that the Grand Lodge is "*CONFISCATING YOUR FUNDS*," and I am sorry to say that many lodges, as the result of said circular, believe such an unqualified and untrue statement to be correct.

Let me inform you that the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines have received and are receiving all available funds; that we have practically no other strikes on hand. Are you willing to allow these men to receive and disburse the vast voluntary donations and assessments now being levied by our organizations? If so, let me, as one who is not officially concerned, suggest that the proper methods would be to transfer the officers of District No. 21 to your Grand Lodge headquarters.

Brothers Hawver, President, and Carl E. Person, Assistant Secretary, signing the circular as District No. 21, are the only two men who are now on strike at Clinton, Ill., and are still receiving benefits from the Grand Lodge. Brothers, you have before you the experience of the Santa Fe and other large strikes. *BE CAREFUL WHAT YOU DO*. Let me advise that at least you consult the International President before going ahead. In answer to those lodges protesting against the action of District No. 21, let me explain that I have no judicial authority.

Yours fraternally,

GEO. PRESTON, G. S. T.

Mr. Geo. Preston in paragraph 2 of his letter tells you how expensive the strike has been to the Association. He also tells you how the strike was keeping the Association broke. But his association in convention at Davenport, Ia., in September, 1911, when calling this strike by instructing the men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines to go out on strike, realized in so doing that they put them on the Grand Lodge payroll, did they not? If the Machinists' Executive Board and its convention did not realize that they added thousands of men to their payrolls by calling them on strike, they were in Davenport either drunk or ignorant. If neither, then they must have expected that the strike would cost the Association more money, and should have made provisions for such conditions, or else face the music with the men who went on strike.

Mr. Preston does not mention any of the men who were on strike, and, like the Association, were broke because the Asso-

ciation put them on strike. These things are never taken into consideration. The Grand Lodge officers were up against a proposition that was too big for them, and therefore men like Mr. Preston favored such propositions as the Water Valley circular, which Mr. Buckalew and J. F. Schmidt of the Boiler-makers said was the work of the company's emissaries because it would take the drain off the Grand Lodge treasury. Any proposition was welcome that would relieve them to this effect.

The Grand Lodge was up against five specific propositions at the time of Mr. Preston's circular and they chose the weakest one of the five: First, put on a Grand Lodge assessment to meet expenses with. Second, increase the per capita tax to meet expenses with. Third, assume an indebtedness for the Association to meet in the future whenever they could, of Grand Lodge officers, Business Agent and Organizers' salaries and strike payrolls. Fourth, autocratically declare the strike off. Fifth, confiscate all funds donated to the starving victims of the strike and turn them into the channels of the Grand Lodge treasury. As it took less courage to apply the fifth one, the fifth was applied. And like a railroad when it runs out of coal, they confiscated anything in sight for the operation of the road. But when a railroad takes the coal it notifies the consignor that it took the coal and will pay for it. It wouldn't confiscate anything, use it for itself and then notify the consignor that it took his coal and dumped it for the poor on their tracks, as did the Grand Lodge of the Machinists. They took in all available strike funds that came their way so that they could operate their office without going out to raise their money in compliance with their constitution.

At no time did the Machinists' District or the men on strike insist on any funds when they did not have such funds in the treasury. But the Machinists' District insisted that all funds which were the property of the men on strike, the voluntary assessments and donations should be paid to the men on strike, whether or not they ever got their strike benefits from the Grand Lodge; for if they did not, then they

knew that they had this much money coming from the Grand Lodge and should get this money whenever the Grand Lodge could pay it, inasmuch as the Grand Lodge would be responsible for their strike benefits until they were taken off the pay-rolls legally.

The Grand Lodge fully realized that if they could not pay the men, they would be indebted to them in the future, just as they would be if they were unable to pay their Vice Presidents and Organizers. But in the meantime the Vice Presidents and Organizers would realize that they had their wages coming to them and would be able to get credit, if necessary. Had the men on strike received the donations and assessment money that was sent them in care of the Grand Lodge, as they should, they could have received credit for the money that was due them as Grand Lodge strike benefits and then it would have been possible to keep enough of them on the line to put up a fight of such nature that would have won the strike.

Therefore, such letters as the circular of November 18, 1912, by George Preston in which he played up the poverty of the Grand Lodge. Sometimes in strikes the same song can be heard by some individual when he is about to go back on his fellows. He generally has a long cry and plays the poverty game or tells what he has done and that he cannot stand it any longer. In this latter case, however, there may possibly be some excuse, but what about an organization that took upon itself certain responsibilities and knew what it was doing at the time it assumed such responsibilities and then is not large enough to face the music and face it like real men? Mr. Preston, in order to make his song effective, made an effort to convey the impression that there were only two men on strike and that the money that was solicited was for Mr. L. M. Hawver and Carl Person, thinking that this would vindicate him, and further that there was something shady pulled off during the Santa Fe strike, when he had in his possession the financial statement for October, for the month

previous to his circular, which speaks for itself and reads as follows:

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF DISTRICT NO. 21, I. A. OF M., WHO ARE ON
STRIKE ON THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD FOR THE MONTH
OF OCTOBER, 1912

MONEY RECEIVED

Lodge No.	Amount	Lodge No.	Amount
408.....	\$ 6.00	536.....	\$ 10.00
666.....	12.40	358.....	10.00
152.....	13.60	161.....	4.00
52.....	10.00	15.....	9.60
195.....	13.80	423.....	5.00
66.....	10.00	317.....	5.25
479.....	22.50	647.....	23.60
136.....	70.50	352.....	6.00
573.....	10.00	683.....	14.50
507.....	27.50	369.....	5.00
100.....	40.00	86.....	29.60
509.....	16.00	593.....	32.00
346.....	10.60	595.....	5.00
469.....	20.00	360.....	73.60
141.....	14.60	166.....	10.00
492.....	25.00	80.....	20.00
62.....	5.00	Grand Lodge.....	50.00
155.....	19.80	Howard Tuddle.....	1.00
222.....	50.00		
9.....	30.40		
		Total Receipts	\$741.85

STRIKE BENEFITS PAID TO

City	Amount	City	Amount
Waterloo	\$ 20.00	Louisville	\$ 12.00
Freeport	30.00	Paducah	40.00
Clinton	20.00	Jackson	10.00
Champaign	20.00	Centralia	20.00
Mattoon	20.00	New Orleans.....	20.00
Evansville	20.00	Water Valley.....	50.00
Princeton	10.00	McComb	40.00
Cairo	10.00	Vicksburg	40.00
Mounds	10.00		
		Total	\$392.00

EXPENSES

WILLIAM A. NEWMAN, SECRETARY-TREASURER

Salary	\$ 15.00
Postage	7.25
Exchange	2.80
Railroad fare and express.....	7.50
Telegrams .....	.80
Incidentals	1.50
Total	\$34.85

WASHINGTON IN GREAT EXCITEMENT 119

H. J. MOLLOY, BUSINESS AGENT

Salary	\$ 50.00
Postage and supplies.....	6.45
Phone	1.10
Carfare	2.00
Total	\$ 59.55

L. M. HAWVER, DISTRICT PRESIDENT

Salary	\$ 56.00
Railroad fare and expenses.....	11.12
Total	\$ 67.12

EXPENSES AT STRIKE HEADQUARTERS

U. S. postage.....	\$ 36.00
H. B. Dick & Co.....	19.60
Dellahauntby Bros., printing.....	46.20
Carl E. Person, railroad fare.....	12.12
Express	5.15
Freight .....	.50
Telegrams .....	.75
Incidentals	2.80
Total	\$123.12

TOTAL EXPENSES

William A. Newman, office.....	\$ 34.85
H. J. Molloy, office.....	59.55
L. M. Hawver.....	67.12
Strike headquarters.....	123.12
Strike benefits.....	392.00
Grand total expenses.....	\$676.64

RECAPITULATION

Total cash on hand from month of September.....	\$ 597.88
Total receipts for this month.....	741.85
Total cash.....	\$1,339.73
Total expenses	676.64
Cash on hand November 1.....	\$ 663.09

Yours,
CARL E. PERSON,
Assistant Secretary.

NOTE.—A mistake was made last month. We credited Lodge No. 695 with \$5 too much. Therefore, our total cash on hand from September was \$597.88 instead of \$602.88, as reported in our last month's report.

The following letter from Lafayette, Ind., will speak for itself and substantiates the fact that Mr. Preston's circular of November 17 was injurious to the men on strike and the movement in general:

LAFAYETTE, IND., November 25, 1912.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Replying to your favor of November 16, in which you advise that one thousand raffle tickets were sent to our recording secretary and requested that I do what I could to get the tickets out, permit me to advise that our recording secretary received a communication from the Grand Lodge (a copy of which was sent to all lodges) requesting that we pay no attention to the request of District No. 21. I had several of the machinists and the good members to boost the thing along, but when the letter from the Grand Lodge was read, everything went to pieces. Somebody is doing a lot of loud knocking.

Yours fraternally,

T. J. GREEN.

We were now facing the second hard winter of the strike and making every honest effort to get sufficient money on the job to keep a few men on the picket lines for the winter, and here we were served with an injunction through our own organization whose respectability and future welfare we were on strike for.

The Advisory Board of the Machinist District sent Secretary George Preston the following resolution, which was printed in the *Machinist Journal* for January, 1913, page 40, and reads as follows:

Whereas, The membership of the machinist organization through their local lodges have had their attention called to certain circulars issued by District 21; and

Whereas, In calling attention to said circulars Bro. George Preston has used language and such phrases in his notice to local lodges, that he has caused some of the members to believe that misappropriation of funds has taken place by our district; and

Whereas, Some lodges have been notified that some district officers are irresponsible, such phrases as are SUPPOSEDLY ACTING and be CAREFUL WHAT YOU DO being used; and

Whereas, The statement is made that Brothers Hawver, President, and Carl E. Person, Assistant Secretary, signing the circulars as District No. 21, are the only two men who are now on strike at Clinton, Ill., which conveys the impression that they are the only ones to be benefited by their circular, and especially because this statement is

followed up by the above statement, BE CAREFUL WHAT YOU DO; therefore, be it,

Resolved, That Brother Preston be censured by the local lodges to whom this circular was sent for his unfair tactics, as he admits that he is not officially concerned; also admits that he has no judicial authority, yet he signs the circular George Preston, G. T. S.; and be it further

Resolved, That Brother Preston be asked to make an apology to District No. 21 through the columns of the Journal or resign his office, as we feel that he is not fit to fill such a position as he has been entrusted with, if he is to be allowed to write such letters to our membership in the future as freely as he has in the past.

(Signed) A. E. FRITZ.

Endorsed by the Advisory Board of District No. 21.

W. A. NEWMAN, Secretary.

Mr. George Preston's attitude toward the men who were on strike is easily seen. His letter to the Water Valley Lodge No. 61, I. A. of M., when they wanted to go back and scab on the organizations they went out on strike for, speaks for itself. He spoke more loudly when he refused to handle the strike funds that were sent to him for the men on strike.

THE COMING BACK OF THE FEDERATION

On November 15, 1912, Mr. McCreery, President of the Illinois Central Federation, who, you will remember, was in Clinton a few days prior, when Business Agent Molloy and President Hawver turned the District No. 21 into a Federation, writes the following letter:

PADUCAH, KY., November 12, 1912.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Now, Brother Person, you go ahead with the Bulletin and the other work as agreed on and as soon as I get an answer from you I will get out a notice to the rank and file on the system for you to run in the Bulletin, notifying them of the changes and what their duty will be in the future, as some advise to the secretaries of the local boards at the different points on the system. I want to advise them also that where they haven't got a working secretary-treasurer at each point, to get busy and select one at once in order that we can do our business with each point through their official secretary-treasurer.

Yours fraternally,

J. F. MCCREERY,
President of I. C. Federation.

All of the Advisory Members approved of the proposition as submitted to them by Business Agent Molloy and President L. M. Hawver of the Machinist Districts, through President McCreery of the Federation. Therefore, we now had a federation movement on the Illinois Central Railroad. The Federation that was organized in Memphis, Tenn., in May, 1911, had now come to life again, as authorized and as legal as the day it was first organized.

Business Agent Molloy of the district was informed by wire that his proposition had carried and Molloy writes the following letter:

CHICAGO, ILL., November 14, 1912.

Dear Person: I received your wire this a. m. I am glad that the proposition carried. Now that it has, I will do what I can with the gang here and will go to Clinton. The chances are that I will not get to Clinton before Monday. I have a few things here that must be looked after before going away. Then it will take a little time to get this gang lined up.

I had thought that Buck would be in Clinton before this and since he had not yet reported, I can't imagine what he has in mind to do.

I note from the paper this morning that Parks has been relieved of the duty of general manager. His place has been taken by Foley, who was Park's assistant. Parks still remains with the road as vice-president and handles the transportation department.

If Buck comes your way and don't intend to come here, let me know as soon as you can. Try and persuade him to come here, at least for a little while; a day will be plenty.

Hoping to see you soon, I am, with best wishes to yourself and Hawver,

Yours for the revolution,

H. J. MOLLOY,

Business Agent District No. 21, I. A. of M.

(Paragraph 4 of Molloy's letter omitted. Confidential matter.)

Machinist Business Agent Molloy was glad to know that his proposition as submitted to President McCreery carried and that at least we were getting down to a federated effort in the handling of the strike. Please keep Mr. Molloy's letter in mind, as he is also one of the "stars" in this play and we are now facing the storm where he will be put to the test.

I was now determined to make the best possible effort to execute the new plans and get the co-operation of the

Grand Lodge officers, whose co-operation the men on strike were entitled to. If not I would drive them out in the open where I could photograph them and put them on record, where he who was not totally blind could see that it was not the Illinois Central and the Harriman Lines railroads we were fighting, but the Grand Lodge officers of our own organizations.

PETE CONLON MAD WITH POWER

We have now heard from Mr. Conlon of the Machinists, in which he replies to my letter of the 17th and indicates that the tail has now wagged the dog long enough. The following telegram was received:

POSTAL TELEGRAPH COMMERCIAL CABLES

TELEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 19, 1912.

CARL E. PERSON,
CLINTON, ILL.

YOU ARE HEREBY SUSPENDED AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY, DISTRICT TWENTY-ONE. VICE-PRESIDENT BUCKALEW HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TAKE CHARGE YOUR OFFICE. LETTER FOLLOWS.

3:47 P. M.

P. J. CONLON,
Vice-President I. A. of M.

The letter that Mr. Conlon speaks about in his telegram arrived and reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 19, 1912.

MR. C. E. PERSON,
District No. 21,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your letter of the 17th to hand and by virtue of the powers invested in me by the International President, during his absence, as provided for in Section 2, Article 5, page 16, of the constitution, I HEREBY SUSPEND YOU FROM THE OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY of District No. 21 of our Association for failing to carry out the instructions of this office sent you on the 4th and attempting to persuade our locals to violate Section 16, Article 2, subordinate lodge constitution, page 40.

YOUR MEMBERSHIP WILL NOT BE INTERFERED WITH,

and you are at liberty to pursue any course you can see fit to set aside this decision, but because of your past attitude and the language of your letter, you are not fit to serve as an officer of our Association. Therefore, I have instructed Vice-President Buckalew to take charge of your affairs until other arrangements can be made for your successor.

Fraternally yours,

P. J. CONLON,
Acting President.

It can here be understood that it was a violation of the Machinist constitution to "attempt to persuade" local lodges to send money direct to the Machinist District, inasmuch as such money to comply with the constitution should go through the Grand Lodge. However, an effort had been made, as you can fully understand, to get the money "through" the Grand Lodge, and instead of going "through," this money was switched to the Grand Lodge treasury. To fight this condition was the purpose of the district, and the intention of the war cabinet when Jack Buckalew brought it to Clinton.

We have already proven our case that it was an impossibility to get the money "through" the Grand Lodge, and as the Grand Lodge violated the constitution by switching the money "to" the Grand Lodge, then the district was justified in violating the constitution in asking that the money be sent the men on strike "through" their district, for by routing the money this way would deprive the Grand Lodge of the confiscation of the money. And, therefore, Mr. Pete Conlon was now pulling his hair and had to discharge someone, just as an occasional machine side foreman has to discharge someone for reading the blueprints wrong. But it wasn't the constitution at all; it was the October financial statement we sent Mr. Conlon. After it was looked over they realized that we were building up the organization that they had ordered the tombstones for, and therefore all this noise in Washington. The only reason that kept Mr. George Preston from doing it was, as he said, "He did not have the judicial authority," and Mr. Conlon had, as acting president of the I. A. of M., while Mr. Johnston was resting up.

Mr. Conlon objects to the language used in my letter of November 17, 1912. However, it was about time to use some plain language with this aggregation in Washington, because the strike was suffering the consequence of the holdup by the Grand Lodge of the strikers' money, and what was necessary to keep up the picket lines, so he was told in very plain language what my attitude was. However, the records will show that when we first called this matter to their attention we begged and prayed that in the interest of the strike they should play the game fair. After this procedure had failed it was time to get up off our knees and go after them and when this portion of the play arrived, Pete Conlon did not like it. However, he had it coming to him, and we tried to give it to him. Of course, these people in shoulder straps do not as a rule ever run across anyone that dares to talk to them in plain words and, therefore, this letter startled Pete Conlon.

In Mr. Conlon's letter of November 19, 1912, he gave as one of his reasons for my suspension the violation of Section 16, Article 2, page 40, subordinate lodge constitution for 1912, page 40, which reads as follows:

All moneys sent for financial aid from one lodge for another shall be sent to the Grand Secretary-Treasurer, who will acknowledge the receipt of same in the following monthly financial statement.

I was fully acquainted with the constitution, for the above quotation was given full consideration at the time Buckalew came to Clinton and organized the war cabinet of the district. Then it was discovered that the Grand Lodge was violating the constitution by failure to send the money to the "other lodge in the case," after it arrived at the Grand Lodge.

There was one time during the strike that the Grand Lodge Presidents federated in the interest of the men on strike. They were driven to this during the month of March, 1912. Let us fully observe this letter, which is also signed by President Johnston of the Machinists, and see if Johnston is complying with this part of the constitution that I was suspended for violating. It reads as follows:

JOINT FEDERATION OF STRIKING EMPLOYEES OF THE
ILLINOIS CENTRAL AND HARRIMAN LINES

Headquarters, 570-585 Monon Building, Chicago.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 11, 1912.

To ALL ORGANIZED WORKMEN, Greeting:

We, the undersigned International officers, at this writing have depleted our treasuries and appeal to you for financial assistance to carry on a battle for *human rights* and the privilege to federate. The strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines have lasted five months. After three months' battle, President Markham of the Illinois Central made the statement to Governor Brewer of Mississippi (who stated to the undersigned and others) *that it had cost the Illinois Central \$17,000,000 already but they had been reimbursed from other sources \$15,000,000; proving the charge that the railroads were federated—a privilege they deny their employes.* Undoubtedly it cost the Harriman Lines more than double that amount, and that being the case this strike is costing the railroad companies about \$7,000,000 per month. If they are willing to sink that amount to fight the federated shop crafts, it means a continuation of the fight on the separate unions if we lost this strike.

We have had resolutions from different localities that a strike be called on all western railroads. A meeting of the general officers in Kansas City, Feb. 20th, was held and these resolutions were considered, also resolutions that were presented requesting the general officers to confine the strike to the Harriman Lines and Illinois Central only, and exert their utmost efforts to finance those who are now on the firing line. The latter course was deemed advisable.

It has been expressed by some that a strike not won in three months is lost. *Such talk is nonsense.* The undersigned are thoroughly convinced that we are winning the strike. The motive power and car equipment is being kept up by means of *robbing bad order cars and dead locomotives, which crowd the company's sidetracks.* Thus, with the few mechanics they have among the scabs, they have been able to worry along.

We believe the company is willing to continue this strike longer if by so doing they can starve our men into submission. If we convince them that they cannot starve the men, a settlement will follow.

Thirty thousand men walked out, *less than five hundred of all crafts have deserted; a splendid record of loyal unionists.* All they ask is *doughnuts and coffee; their wives and children must have more.*

We used every honorable means to avoid the strike. The managers selected the time, chose the battlefield, and forced the issue. *It was either fight or submit to every indignity and discrimination they wished to heap upon us.* The men would rather go down fighting an honorable battle than submit; therefore, by a vote of 97 per cent the strike was called, and *one of the most gigantic railroad struggles of recent years was on.*

Government inspectors have condemned many locomotives after various explosions, wrecks and breakdowns, and the demands of the public and the employees, who are handling the motive power.

The men, especially those who are working on railroads that would have been involved if a strike was called, *we are sure will give at least a day's pay per month, and we hope that all will assess themselves a*

certain amount per week or month, and everybody that receives this appeal we hope will make a donation at their earliest convenience.

Many things we might say in our defense, but this will conclude: The strike was forced upon us, and we are on the defensive; we intend to fight the battle to a finish. *The general officers of the crafts appealed to have all expressed themselves as being in hearty sympathy with us, and some have opened their journals and made mention of this appeal and are encouraging their members to contribute.*

We hope the time will soon come when all American wageworkers will consider *the injury of one the concern of all.* The employers evidently have learned this and are governing themselves accordingly.

Please send all remittances to WM. F. KRAMER, 570-585 Monon Bldg., No. 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., who will promptly receipt for same and answer all questions.

Thanking you in advance for a liberal contribution, and with best wishes, we remain,

Yours very fraternally,
J. W. KLINE,
General President I. B. of B. and H.;

J. A. FRANKLIN,
International President I. B. of B. M. and I. S. B. A.;
Inter. President I. A. M.;

W. H. JOHNSTON,
M. F. RYAN,
General President B. R. C. of A.;

M. O'SULLIVAN,
General President A. S. M. W. I. A.;

J. J. CARRIGAN,
International President Railway Clerks;

G. F. HEDRICK,
International President Painters and Decorators;

J. T. KINSELLA,
International President Steam and Hot Water Pipe Fitters;

JOHN FITZPATRICK,
Federal Labor Union.

This appeal is hereby approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President;
JAMES DUNCAN, First Vice President;
JOHN MITCHELL, Second Vice President;
JAMES O'CONNELL, Third Vice President;
D. A. HAYES, Fourth Vice President;
W. D. HUBER, Fifth Vice President;
J. F. VALENTINE, Sixth Vice President;
J. R. ALPINE, Seventh Vice President;
H. B. PERHAM, Eighth Vice President;
J. B. LENNON, Treasurer;
FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

We find that President Johnston has signed and endorsed a letter soliciting funds from lodges of the machinist organization, and directed such funds to be sent to Wm. F. Kramer, 570 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill., who at that time represented the Grand Lodge Presidents as their Federation Secretary. In this letter we find that President Johnston also attempted to persuade locals to violate section 16, article 2, subordinate constitution.

The Grand Lodge President discovered the results through federation of efforts, such as the above federated letter, was effective even though it was in violation of their respective constitutions. This letter was the first and the last federated effort set forth in the interest of the men on strike. When I made an effort to apply the law of best results for the men on strike they took cover back of the very articles of the constitutions that they had to violate themselves in order to procure the best results. Now that someone "had been fixed" and it was decided that the strikers were to be trimmed, I had to be suspended for violating that portion of the constitution that Johnston and other Grand Lodge Presidents violated before the "proper arrangements" for trimming the strikers had been made.

The following injunction was served on every lodge in the International Association of Machinists:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 20, 1912.

Dear Sir and Brother: This will officially notify you that Carl E. Person, Assistant Secretary of District No. 21, was suspended from that office by the Grand Lodge on Nov. 19, 1912, and is no longer a district representative of our organization.

Fraternally yours,

P. J. CONLON,
Vice President I. A. of M.

No other explanation was made to the membership, and the first thought that would come to their minds after hearing the letter was that I had got away with the strikers' funds, and the very impression the Grand Lodge wanted to leave upon them, when the fact was that all funds solicited through the

district were sent to W. A. Newman, the District Secretary at Mattoon, Ill. I therefore handled no funds; my business was to get the funds moving into the district instead of the Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge knew, however, that they could put a damper on what we had accomplished in the few months that we had been at work by informing the "Worthy Brothers" of my suspension. Being suspended from any organization makes one as welcome with the membership as a cat in a canary cage.

We had now put some life into the district. We were paying those who were doing actual picket duty and devoting all their time to the strike six dollars per week, and we had forced Johnston to come across with the eight dollars coming to them as Grand Lodge wages. The result was that we had quite a few men on the line who were getting fourteen dollars per week, enough to ride along on and could devote all their time to their business of "keeping the scabs moving" and advertise the strike. In addition we had got our advertising campaign well under way; several tons of postal cards and red stickers had gone all over the country. The little red sticker of "Keep off the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines—Strike on" could be seen in every little village in the country, and attracted the attention of anyone that frequented a hall of justice or a barroom annex. At many points on the system the machinists had left, therefore there was no machinist to put to work on the picket line, but if it was a terminal point it was to the best interest of the strike in general to have someone there, if it was only one man. Where we could not get a machinist on the job, we put on a striker of any other craft that we could get, who would give the movement his entire time and play ball for the cause he went on strike for. We knew that the men who had placed the money with the district wanted results for the money, and did not care whether it was a machinist, a carman, or a helper that could give them the results, and therefore we did not draw any jurisdictional lines to procure results.

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

So that it will be understood that the injunction to the membership sent out by Pete Conlon on Nov. 20, 1912, had its desired effect insofar as the Grand Lodge of Machinists was concerned, I quote you one of the many letters received which reads as follows:

927 FRANKLIN ST.,
WATERLOO, IOWA, Nov. 23, 1912.

MR. L. M. HAWVER,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Friend and Brother: We are enclosing a letter signed P. J. Conlon of Nov. 20, 1912, just received from Grand Lodge and must state that it just knocked the pegs out from under us. Of course, we know why they are trying to antagonize you there at Clinton, but I am very sorry to see them get so drastic, as it is going to be the very worst thing that could happen right at this time. With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) FRANK CONNOR,
R. S. 314, I. A. of M.

JACK BUCKALEW CAUGHT IN THE CRISIS

I had now arrived at the place I wanted to get at to find out if there was any fight in the War Cabinet and Jack Buckalew, who had come a couple of months before with the district dead in his little satchel. You will always find those who are strong in the fight until a cloud comes up, and it takes a little steam to face the music, and that is the most pleasant time, for the friends that will stand the test can be depended on. In this case what was the duty of Jack Buckalew? Should he stick with me after taking his district and putting some life into it, just what he wanted done and didn't know how?

The following telegram was received from Jack Buckalew:

POSTAL TELEGRAPH CABLE COMPANY

Night Lettergram.

TOPEKA, KAN., Nov. 23, 1912.

C. E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Unavoidably detained in Topeka. Will leave tomorrow or next day for your town via St. Louis. Do not take charge of the Federation proposition until I get there. Anything important wire me here. Hold mail.

J. D. BUCKALEW.
8:30 A. M.

The above telegram speaks for itself. Take particular notice of the words, "DO NOT TAKE CHARGE OF THE FEDERATION PROPOSITION UNTIL I GET HERE."

Buckalew had received his instructions from Washington and Washington had been informed that we had made an effort to get down to recognize federation, insofar as the handling of the strike was concerned. While changing the district into a federation, we had a "spotter" from the Grand Lodge on the job, who always went along, and of course Mr. Conlon and Mr. Johnston had been informed as to the recent developments and therefore it was not my letter of Nov. 17, 1912, that had shaken up Pete Conlon's dog. It was the fact that we were getting down to federated basis of handling the strike, and this was the real cause of my suspension as District Secretary. It was, of course, figured out by the Grand Lodge of the Machinists that if they would suspend me at this time, this action would keep us from building up a Federation, and therefore my suspension, and Jack Buckalew's instructions "TO HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THE FEDERATED PROPOSITION UNTIL HE GETS THERE." It is very important that you understand this part of it, for we are now in the middle of the "storm" where I am testing the preachers of the "all for one, and the one for all," and it must be understood back of my suspension was the fact that there was a danger of me building up a federated movement in the handling of a strike that they had sent with well wishes to the graveyard some time ago in the early part of 1912.

President Hawver of the district sent the following letter to all points on strike concerning my suspension, which speaks for itself:

CLINTON, ILL., Nov. 21, 1912.

To the Officers and Members of All Lodges Composing District No. 21.

Brothers, as you already know, Brother Person thru his activity in behalf of our men on strike has been suspended as District Secretary.

Brother Person will furnish you with a complete statement of how and why he has been suspended. He still retains his membership in the I. A. of M., but conditions may develop wherein the Grand Lodge may

expel him from the organization, on account of his determination to continue his activity for the men who are on strike and for the interest of this movement.

Brother Person has not been suspended because of any financial deficit; his accounts are all right and he has handled our business to the best of satisfaction.

Prior to this suspension of Person as District Secretary he was selected as Strike Secretary by the Illinois Central System Federation Executive Board, and at this time he is working as Strike Secretary for the Federation.

It is clearly understood by all officers and members of the System Federation Executive Board that Person is authorized to solicit funds for the Federation and as soon as possible and when the money is forthcoming it will be paid to those who are doing picket duty on the system.

Brother Buckalew has placed me in charge of the district business and I will endeavor to continue the district payroll as long as we can in our handicapped condition caused by the action of the Grand Lodge in threatening to suspend anyone who will try and raise money for the men on strike.

In my opinion, after associating with Brother Person for nearly four months, and in that time learning of the untiring efforts and sincerity and success in raising money for the men on strike, advertise the strike, edit the bulletin, I believe that you will make no mistake in co-operating with him in the future as you have in the past to make our strike still more effective.

Hoping to have your continued co-operation for the future, and that you will lend every assistance to Brother Person and forward him your strike news as you have in the past, I remain,

Yours in battle,

(Signed) L. M. HAWVER, JR.,
President District No. 21, I. A. of M.

Mr. Jack Buckalew drove in from Topeka, Kan., where he had been taking a "week off," with enough telegrams and papers from Washington to draw up specifications for a battleship. He did not only have Washington orders for the closing up of the "rebels' nest," but charges of insubordination against himself if he failed to do so. Jack Buckalew was now in a position where he stood between his own job or must turn on the one that took his district as a corpse and worked on it day and night, until it was nursed back to where it could sit up and kick around a bit and make enough noise to make President Johnston walk the floor nights and make Pete Conlon want a chew of tobacco as he sat in his office and looked down over the "capitol dome" at Washington. In fact, as Pete Conlon

stated in his letter, the tail was wagging the dog and intruding upon its peaceful slumbers.

What would Buckalew do? What should he have done under the circumstances? Here was the time to find out Jack Buckalew, the man of many battles; the man who had said when he first came in with his district in a little satchel that the men on the line were "trimmed" and he was willing to declare war on the "trimmers." But Jack was like the rest of the "rail birds"—was strong for war but short on going to war himself. Like they were before the strike, as M. F. Ryan explained it at the Davenport Convention of the Machinists in 1911, *"We must go on strike for this sacred cause if we haven't a dollar to pay as strike benefits."* But you will notice M. F. Ryan, Jack Buckalew and the rest of the sky pilots always paid themselves their salary and therefore did not go to war at all.

They simply played the part of that uniformed model that parades in front of the recruiting stations and when they are seen performing children think that they are the soldiers that burned up the smoke at "Valley Forge."

Jack Buckalew sat there nervous, with all his Washington documents, and stroked his thin black hair with a shaky hand. "What do you think of it, kid?" said he. "We beat the dips to it, Jack," I said; "they were expecting the ship to go under in July after announcing that the strike vote did not carry, and now we shall give them a run for their money; the longer we can keep the ship afloat the more respected the federated movement will be on the roads where they have federated contracts, and the more attention Federated Committees will receive, when they go to the managers' doors and ask for recognition. We must keep the ship afloat and fight anyone or everybody to accomplish this end."

"Yes, but did you hear from Washington lately?" said Jack.

"Yes, I did. Johnston had to take the rest cure after the jolt we gave him in St. Louis on the 25 per cent proposition,

and he's sicked Pete Conlon on me. If Pete thinks that I shall give up because he's got a headache, he'll be so busy that he won't have time for the football games this season, and besides, this is just what makes the game worth while, Jack."

"But I am in bad with the office," said Jack.

"Yes, and I am outside of the office," I said, as I pulled out my suspension papers from the files and handed them to him. "This is the last noise that Pete Conlon pushed in, but why worry?"

"I received copies of everything at Topeka," said Jack, as he handed me his "Western Union" orders to take charge of the office and all property therein.

"That's a joke on Conlon, isn't it?" was my reply. "He didn't know that you have been in charge for three months. Washington is three months behind the time; no wonder Markham and Kruttschnitt can put it over the boobs." They could build a new line from Chicago to the Coast in that time."

"Hello, Jack; what's the good word?" said a fellow who came in the side door. It was Hawver, the President of the district. He came in from a tour of the road.

"That's a live wire you put on the job at Cherokee," Hawver said, as he turned to me, "and if there is any place on the system where we need a live one, it is there, for the hog is running drags of empties from all points on the western lines in there to touch them up on the rip track."

"Who's the machinist at Cherokee?" said Jack.

"Oh, the nutbusters all left there a couple of weeks after the 'parade'; he's a blacksmith helper, and I wish we had ten men like him at every point on the system, then we'd soon 'move the yards.'"

"Who's buying his beans?" Jack inquired.

"The Kid shoves him twelve dollars per week from the war chest," replied Hawver.

"I won't stand for paying anyone but machinists out of machinists' money," stated Jack, with an air of authority.

"Why, there hasn't been a machinist there for over a year,

and nobody else for the last two months; the company is taking advantage of the situation and pushing the cars in there from Freeport and Waterloo; if we need a man any place it is just these deserted places, and I'm glad that we could at least make it a Federation, so that this cry of paying a machinist with machinist money, or a boilermaker with boilermakers' money could be locked up."

"Where is the Federation?" demanded Jack, as he started to walk up and down the office floor.

"We had McCreery come up from Paducah and persuaded him to get on the job; we gave him the district organization, and with this as a start we'll liven things up, and if the kid can irritate all of the 'dips' like Washington was spurred into motion, then some morning's mail will bring sad news to our friends at the 'Park Row Station,'" was Hawver's reply.

"I'll have nothing to do with this Federation. I won't stand for it at all," cried Jack in a melodramatic exposition that would remind you of him in action during the good old torch-light nights as he was about to reach a striking epoch in his platform performance of the "one for all and all for one." "There isn't anyone on the line but machinists anyway," he continued, "besides this has been a machinist strike for some time and it shall continue to be a machinist strike, by God! I've got to close her up or be pulled out of service, and a man with my reputation can't afford to be pulled out of service."

Poor old Jack! He was now willing to throw the cause for his measly job. No principle was big enough for him to place his job in jeopardy and he was fully aware of the fact that he had to make good on the Washington orders "or be pulled out," like the "handy man" who lived up the tracks and took his place with the boys in the parade, but was called on by the foreman in the morning and told "You better come back now or ye kin never work for the company again." He sputtered and cried: "Oh, what shall I do? Oh, what shall I do?" and then decided to do it. Such was Jack Buckalew's position, and after he got the shakes bad enough he also did it.

"Look here, Jack," I said; "you yellow cur, now that you have shown yourself as small as you can get, now that we've learned that there is no real fight in you, and that the rehearsal you've made before the spotlights has been but a barnyard recital. You came here a few months ago with your organization a wreck, dressed up an attitude that was both false and misleading. You may be a Grand Lodge officer with titles and reputations that are admired and welcome where folks don't know you as we do, and have had no opportunity to take your blue prints as we have taken them. The rebel nest was here before you made the circuit, Jack, and it shall stay here until the 'dips' are successful in pulling down the curtain on this western drama. There is nothing in the rebel nest that belongs to either you, Johnston or Pete Conlon, and if there is anything that you will ever take it will be after the 'smokeless' has been pushed out from the Winchesters. Now you are welcome to go, but remember this, that it was a strike for federation, and if you intend to go out and interfere with our activities in the the interest of federation, you'll lose more sleepless nights than Johnston has lost." And so Jack Buckalew left, fully realizing that he had closed nothing up; that the little war would go on as far as the rebel nest was concerned.

Hawver had slipped off his coat, and stood there in the corner with his eyes popping out like a boy who was first taken to see his new baby brother, and said: "That's a good one, kid. That's what these dips need to move them. The sooner they are made to realize that this is a strike instead of a playhouse, the better for all of us."

While Jack left, he left to return in the future. His first stop was at Chicago, where he dropped in to see J. W. Kline, President of the Blacksmiths, and told him what a nasty job Pete Conlon gave him, and how he hated to do it, but he just had to, and that it was his place to stick with the boys who had served him when he could not serve himself, but Washington orders were superior to everything; he had taken an oath to be subservient to the constitution. He then drove into Wash-

ington to call on Pete and the office of President Johnston, who had recuperated sufficiently to come in and take charge. Here he informed his superior that the rebel nest still stood on the prairie and that now he could not close it up as the district officers had made a Federation out of it. Then he was cross-questioned on how the district came to life and was able to make enough noise to wag the dog in Washington. Jack was then issued new orders that if he could not break up the Federation and that movement that had developed from the district he would have to send in his resignation.

Mr. Buckalew realized what he was up against, but he had to make good or lose his job, and the office in Washington was more than anxious to see him make good and therefore developed mutual co-operation and a federated effort between Mr. Johnston and Buckalew.

Inasmuch as we were now in the storm of organized opposition, it will be well to remember that Jack Buckalew went to Washington to confer with those whom he regarded as wrecking the strike in June, 1912, and his date in Washington was Nov. 26, 1912. Several propositions were now developing in Washington, in which Mr. Johnston, Pete Conlon and their new recruit Mr. Jack Buckalew were interested. One of them was how to wreck the Strike Bulletin that had been started at this time. As this was regarded as the most dangerous weapon we had been able to establish while the brains of the labor movement were asleep on the job, you will see where they jumped on the little newspaper in the near future. Remember that the plot was hatched in Washington at this time.

President Hawver of the district was under the impression that Mr. Conlon had made the suspension without the knowledge of President Johnston, and therefore wired him as follows:

CLINTON, ILL., Nov. 28, 1912.

MR. WM. H. JOHNSTON,
402 McGill Bldg., Washington, D. C.

For the future welfare of your organization come to Clinton and make terms. I desire no reoccurrence of trouble like in District 15.

L. M. HAWVER, JR.

To which President Johnston of the Machinists replied as follows:

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.

Day Letter.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 30, 1912.

L. M. HAWVER, JR.,
Box 32, Clinton, Ill.

Person's actions necessitated his suspension. Books and papers must be turned over by him. If he desires to appeal he should comply with our instructions and his case will be laid before the General Executive Board. We cannot stand for any further temporizing with him.

WM. H. JOHNSTON—11:00 P. M.

President Johnston's wire will indicate that Vice President Pete Conlon was acting under the instructions of President Johnston and with his full knowledge thereof. Johnston refused to meet the District Board. There were no two sides to the issue as far as Mr. Johnston was concerned, so he took the same attitude the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines took with the Federation and would grant no conference whatever. He would not even recognize the grievance of the association's own district. Why, then, should railroads and others recognize Mr. Johnston or the association when they make application for a meeting to discuss grievances at issue? Such tactics as this were the cause of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike.

The following letter was again sent President Johnston, asking for a conference:

CLINTON, ILL., Dec. 3, 1912.

MR. WM. H. JOHNSTON,
402 McGill Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Please set date when you can meet with our district board in Mattoon, Ill. We should have harmony at any cost. There is much dissatisfaction expressed in district at your action of notifying lodges of Person's suspension.

We believe it very important that you meet with us soon. Wire answer.
(Signed) L. M. HAWVER, JR.

No answer was received from the above letter. The telegram and letter is put in the records to show that it was an impossibility for the district to even get a conference with Mr. Johnston.

McCREERY TURNS A TRAITOR FOR THE PROMISE OF A JOB

I had at this time made arrangements to open up a lecture tour and use such men as could handle themselves on the platform as a means of raising funds to maintain the picket lines. Mr. W. E. Bowen, the former Secretary of the Illinois Central Federation, and also an Advisory Board member of the Illinois Central Federation, who had endorsed the proposition as submitted him by President McCreery, including my election as Secretary for the Federation, was engaged to go out on the road, as the following letter will substantiate from President McCreery:

PADUCAH, KY., NOV. 23, 1912.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: I am in receipt of a letter from Bro. Bowen, and he is willing to start on the road as soon as he is ordered to do so, and says that he prefers a southern territory, so you can fix him up and start him out at your pleasure.

Fraternally yours,

F. J. McCREERY,
President.

Mr. W. E. Bowen writes the following letter which speaks for itself:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOV. 27, 1912.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your letter of the 23rd inst. at hand and contents carefully noted, and I must say that I was somewhat surprised at the action of the Machinists' organization, because McCreery had informed me that the Machinists, *i. e.*, District 21, was to turn over their money to you and I had based my future cause to work for the benefit of THE FEDERATION. I was also under the impression that everything was ready to start out on the Bulletin proposition and had made arrangements to take the matter up with the Clerks and have circular letters sent out by the Grand Lodge to all members asking each lodge to contribute 10c for each member as a subscription for the Bulletin. This would have raised hundreds of dollars and if the same plan would

be adopted by all the organizations in the Federation, we could easily have raised hundreds of dollars for the benefit of the strikers, but now I find that the Machinists say they are only looking out for their own members. This is very good from one point of view, but if we are in a federation for the purpose of fighting together for a common purpose, can it be expected that ALL of the crafts will consider it a fair proposition that any one organization shall HOG all of THEIR revenue for themselves? If the great majority of the money was coming in from the other organizations would not the Machinists want all moneys proportionated?

Well, there is not much use to discuss that phase of the situation at this stage of the game, but do you not think that if this 10c assessment was requested by the Grand Lodge of all working members of all organizations that it would have been much better than to depend upon voluntary contributions, which does not bring in very much, comparatively speaking, and while you say that the Federation instructed you to go ahead with the work, why that sounds all right. They would instruct anyone to "go ahead" when there was a chance for any money to be made, but when I find just ONE MAN who is willing to help the cause along by putting up HIS money to try and do something for the benefit of ALL, then I feel that I would not be doing that man JUSTICE were I to use HIS money and perhaps fail in my efforts to try and do something for these men who are still fighting, and I mean by that, the men who are still out and not working; any of the strikers who have secured employment can very easily say to those on the firing lines, "Sic 'em, Tige; go at 'em," but how many of them are doing their share to give "TIGE" encouragement?

When I see such actions as taken by the machinists, I naturally rebel and really dislike to go out under such conditions, but if you are willing to take the chance, then say the word and out I go, of course. I have already said that, but I wanted you to know my feelings in the matter before I would make up my mind to go; and again, you say that they have suspended you. This being the case, do you not think they will publish you and this would act against the plan with the Machinists? Of course, it would not matter with other organizations, but I would like very much to go "up against" any Machinists' Lodge and have them to throw that up to me, so will have to steer clear of them, unless you say go to them, and Willie will go.

Now, just as soon as you get the Bulletin proposition through the postoffice, let me know and I will take the matter up with the Grand Lodge of the Clerks and put the proposition through to have a 10c assessment made by every lodge on every member, or rather, I should say, I will try it, and I have no fear of the result. Any man who would not put up that amount every month for to assist us in this fight should turn in his card, declaring he is not fit to be a union man, and as I have said before, every Grand Lodge should do the same thing, and while you are working on the Bulletin make the subscription 10c per month and try to interest all the members of the Executive Board of the Federation and have them to take up the matter with the respective organizations. Write Buckalew and other V. P.'s of other organizations and explain the proposition, and if they all fall in line, it will be thousands of dollars every month for us and then the question of financing the strike will be settled.

I tell you, Brother Person, when I can see how easy the thing could be done and then learn of the apathy of the powers that be and the indifference of the union men whose very existence depends upon the successful outcome of this fight, men who are now enjoying the fruits of organized labor, men who are so blind that they cannot or do not want to see that the loss of this fight will eventually mean the destruction of all of the organizations involved, it makes my blood boil when I see the future result of this apathy, and when I see such actions as MEN like you I say, "Would to God that we had a few more like you." Some day I will tell you more, but now the question is, shall I go after I have expressed myself as I have? If I go, my first stop will be Gulfport, Miss., then Mobile, Ala. Will advise you from the latter point as to my next point.

Awaiting your answer and with best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) W. E. BOWEN.

It is easy to make deductions now. Mr. Bowen states that he had been informed of the difficulty in the Machinist District and that my suspension was a reaction to the progress of the Federation. He explains that in making the different lodges, the question of my suspension would come up and the "worthy" brothers would refuse to have anything to do with a movement because a suspended member from their "church" was connected with it. In this, Mr. Bowen was right; it was a difficult question to meet, but it had to be met or let the ship go down at that particular time. And of course my suspension was made for this purpose: for the purpose of reacting upon the men on strike and conveying to the membership that something was wrong, and uppermost of all to kill the Federation.

All available pressure was brought to bear on President McCreery of the Illinois Central Federation. The wires were burning up between Washington and Paducah, and from Kansas City, the general office of the Carmen, and Paducah. You will remember what McCreery said when he was in Clinton and the proposition that he later submitted to his District was made that he stood ready to fight, if necessary, any Grand Lodge office that would interfere with the federated movement, and as we will now put him on the stand, note the tone of his letter carefully, which reads as follows:

FEDERATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

PADUCAH, KY., NOV. 27, 1912.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Friend: I received your two letters, also the check for \$50 and other matters, but have been waiting to see Buckalew before answering, as Bro. Fritz had a letter from him saying he would be here the first of the week, but so far he has not put in an appearance.

Brother, I am sorry to hear of your suspension by the Grand Lodge and think that District 21 should stand behind you in this matter, and hope everything will be straightened out satisfactory.

Now, about us starting out on our own hook with you as Strike Secretary without the support of the Machinists would cause friction in our ranks and prevent us from getting the support we should have, so you had better wait and see if this matter can't be straightened out some way.

I have written Molloy and asked what was the disposition of the district in the matter. No doubt the Grand Lodge has notified the different lodges of your suspension and notified them not to do business with District 21 thru you, and this would prevent us from getting the support we are bound to have. You know there are always some who are only looking for an excuse for not donating to our cause.

I am returning to you the check and appreciate your spirit and loyalty to the cause, but, Brother Person, we have got to be very careful of the foundation that we build on for fear that it will crumble from under our building after we have started the building. Let me know whether you are suspended from the I. A. of M. or just suspended from the Assistant Secretary job. I expected to get all of this information from Buckalew, but he has not come and this is the cause of my delay in answering your letters. So hoping to hear from you on this matter, I am, as ever,

Yours truly,

J. F. McCREERY,
President I. C. Federation.

Now, what do you think of that? This was the gentleman who, back in July, asked me to get after Ryan, the President of the Carmen, because the movement was dying in Paducah. The gentleman that laid in Clinton for three days begging me to do what he admitted he could not do himself. This was the gentleman that submitted the Federation proposition to his Executive Board and they approved of it and depended on him as President to see that it was carried out. And now, that the Machinists had engineered a proposition to kill federation, he ran as a baby might run from a wild bull.

The Federation, of course, had no money, as Buckalew took what was left of the District funds when he was sent to close up the District, but, as McCreery admits in his own letter, that he was returning the check for \$50. This will substantiate that money was sent him, and he was at that time to speak in Louisville and other cities in Kentucky. What had happened in the meantime? Several Grand Lodge officers had been to see him, Buckalew had written him and, as he states in his letter, was expected in Paducah any time. These were the kind of men that had let the Federation die and the Grand Lodge officers run away with it. This was the man who was President of the Federation before the strike and who issued strike orders because the Illinois Central would not recognize the Federation, and here he was afraid to recognize it himself, because the Grand Lodge officers did not like it. This is the man who, in May of 1911, was elected as President of the Federation at Memphis, Tenn., and who asserted while in Clinton that when the storm came up he would be there with his sturdy arm of protection, and now he did not have sand enough to face a small organized opposition like this. How could he be expected to put up a fight against a railroad company with brains and money?

He became willing to let the Federation die, because Buckalew, to preserve his job, had orders to tear it down. What was the cause? What was the price paid, we ask McCreery? What inducements were you offered to tear the Federation down? Was it to be made a vice president of the Carmen's International Union at the Milwaukee convention in 1913? Did he surrender all the principles of federation to Jack Buckalew, the Grand Lodge of the Machinists, and the Grand Lodge of the Carmen, for a measly seat on the staff of the Sky Pilots? We shall inform you in regard to this a little later as we arrive at the narration of another scene of the circus. Let us see what this gentleman said in his proposition as submitted to his Executive Board. His last paragraph of the proposition reads:

Brothers, it is very plain that we cannot exist as a Federation, along the lines that have been followed out as per the constitution, and, therefore, we must devise such means and ways that is to the best interest of this movement at this time, and with this end in view I am submitting to you this proposition as outlined in this letter.

If such was the fact at that time, why did Mr. McCreery take water at this time? If he had a perfect right to do so, then the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines had a perfect right to turn the Federation down in 1911. The principle is the same, regardless whether it is outside or inside of the labor movement, is it not? If one man or one organization is justified to do one or many things, then should not anyone else be justified to do the same? If Mr. McCreery turned down the movement and the men he was supposed to represent at this time for the job of Vice President for the Carmen, is he not likely to let the members of that organization down at any time, if the proper inducements are made to him, judging from his weakness before? Any man who would surrender the principles and rights of the 12,000 men out on strike on the Illinois Central, you are justified in believing that there is nothing too low for him to execute in the future.

Inasmuch as Mr. McCreery stated in his letter that he was writing Business Agent Molloy of the Machinists; therefore, let us put Molloy on the stand:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS
DISTRICT LODGE NO. 21

Dec. 1, 1912.

Dear Person: I am enclosing you a letter which I received from McCreery. You can see by same the ideas that he had in regard to the matter. I guess he and Buck talked this over since he wrote me. I guess Buck told him how the *Liberator* was to take the place of the *Bulletins*, etc. We will not wait for that.

I was talking to Sam Osten of the Blacksmiths here and he was sore because he thought that we had all turned you down. He told me today that from Buck's talk last Sunday at the mass meeting that all the machinists turned you down and that you had been a terrible violator of the constitution. Osten also said, "I remember some of the things that Buck told us to do were not in line with the constitution." You can count on Osten as with you and I find some others here also. Osten told me, too, that he had told Jensen that he thought we were all a lot of quitters, if we did not stick with you.

When I write McCreery I am going to tell him that it is no more essential that we machinists stick to our part of the proposition than for all other crafts to stick to their part. I think McCreery got his instructions all right, and I think that was the reason why Buck's letter was sent there from Conlon; so they could compare things. Well, we got them on the go now. They will have to make some move to get out a Bulletin and to promote Federation or we will be after them some more.

I have not heard from Johnston yet on the letter which I sent him at Rochester. Neither have I heard from the one which I sent Pete Conlon from Clinton. I can't imagine why I have been ignored in both cases. Maybe they have had all the stenographers sending out circulars telling of your suspension. I find that none have been missed.

Please return the enclosed letter, as I want to frame it.

Yours for the cause,

H. J. MOLLOY,
Business Agent, District 21, I. A. of M.

From Business Agent Molloy's letter we can understand that Buckalew had already been in Paducah to see McCreery and that Conlon had been in touch with McCreery. We further find that Jack Buckalew had attended the mass meeting of strikers in Chicago. We further find that they had started out to put the strike bulletin out of business, and the *Liberator* was to be endorsed, as we shall note later on. We also note that the strikers in Chicago realize that Jack Buckalew was on a mission of destruction, do we not? Molloy further stated that in his opinion McCreery had received his instructions, did he not? As yet you can understand that Business Agent Molloy is standing firm and that he realized that there was an organized effort to tear down the federation.

In the meantime Jack Buckalew was a busy man; when he left Chicago he went back to Paducah again, and there he found that in face of all organized opposition, and deserted by the spineless element, I was going ahead as if nothing had happened. While in Paducah a letter was written to W. E. Bowen and he was given instructions to lay down on the job, and these instructions were complied with, and the dates made for him in Alabama and Mississippi were not filled, as he was afraid to go out after being told not to go.

BUCKALEW'S DYING EFFORT FOR REVENGE

The next thing Jack Buckalew undertook to do was to bring the Advisory Board of District No. 21 to Clinton and have them to sit as a jury on my suspension. In the meantime he wrote them all and laid his side of the case before them, and when they heard of it, they, of course, made up their mind that the Pinkerton Detective Agency had run away with their District, for so it appeared after hearing Jack Buckalew's side of the case. The meeting of the District Board took place at Clinton on December 7, 1912.

Buckalew arranged for suitable quarters at the "Village Inn" and at ten o'clock promptly called the court to order. Hawver, President of the District, was seated as the judge of the court, while Jack assumed the office of state's attorney and prosecutor. James J. Meagher was the defendant's chief counsel. Jack Buckalew told his tale of woe, and they were pretty well impressed with the fact that I tore down constitutional fences to question the authorities, his highness at Washington, as well as his assistant, Jack Buckalew.

Among the 59 indictments that Buckalew had preferred was that of refusing to accept the dictates of my superiors and stealing the Machinists' District and then giving it away to the Federation. The first day was absorbed in Buckalew's opening speech, which was as flowery as spring hats at Atlantic City and as useless as an extension on a silk gown in a bar-room dance hall. Here I learned my first lesson to plead guilty to nothing under the instructions of the learned counsel, J. J. Meagher. The next day's proceedings were opened up by Attorney Meagher's eloquent speech, which was so penetrating that the wall paper started to crack, the curtains swung as if rocked by the northern winds that sweep the prairies, while Prosecuting Counsel Buckalew sank deeper and deeper upon his hickory chair; the colored shoe-shine performers with the village constables, as well as the citizens that had come up on the square to absorb the morning sunshine, stood listening to

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the penetrating voice that escaped from over the window sills and went riding on the aerial waves. Little children were jubilant over the anticipations that Barnum had come to town with his steam calliope.

If Buckalew was of the impression that his lubricator would oil up the machine to the extent of accomplishing his purpose after Meagher's opening speech, he was badly mistaken, for now some hard, cold facts had been driven home. They seemed to change the atmosphere of the situation and before the end of the second day of the trial Jack Buckalew was the man on trial instead of "yours for victory." It developed that Jack Buckalew himself was the man that first came to the village and asked for assistance in declaring war on the Grand Lodge and the "dips" who were putting a cold blanket on the strike, and that he got more assistance than he wanted. If there was anyone guilty of violating this law of interfering with the peaceful slumbers of the dips, Jack Buckalew was guilty. But the District members found him guilty for getting yellow and not going the limit when the storm came up.

The second indictment was the turning over of the District to the Federation and making the effort to handle the strike on a federated basis.

Here the Machinist District was placed on trial instead of me. It was Molloy, the Business Agent, L. M. Hawver, the President, and the Board members that approved of this proposition and had turned it over to McCreery and begged me to serve them as the Secretary of the Federation, and my only crime was that I served them too well. When Buckalew came around at the behest of the Grand Lodge of the Machinists to bury it, he was pulled to one side and told to put his foot on the soft, soft peddle, and when McCreery went wrong he was also put on the shelf, and in this case the District members refused to find themselves guilty. Before the trial was over Buckalew received a telegram from Washington, D. C., signed by President Johnston, which stated that:

McCreery wires that he had no connections with Person.

This, however, was the biggest joke of them all, as both Molloy and Hawver were there to substantiate the fact that McCreery had been in Clinton and laid around there and cried until I conceded to take hold of the Federation, and I pulled out several letters received from him, as well as the \$50 check he had returned to me, and Newman, Hawver, Molloy and Meagher testified to the fact that they had approved of the federation proposition submitted to President McCreery by the District officers. Like Judas Iscariot in that drama before Pilate, who sold himself for thirty pieces of silver, McCreery now turned the same trick for the promise of a cushioned seat on the staff of the sky pilots, which was presented to him at the Milwaukee convention of the Brotherhood of Railroad Carmen in 1913. And there is one thing that President Ryan of the Carmen can be admired for: he stood true to his promise here and paid McCreery off; that's more than McCreery will do for him if Ryan ever gets caught in a tight place.

The District officers again re-concurred in their former action as submitted to McCreery, and my instructions were to carry out the specifications of welding the movement together on a federated basis, with McCreery on the coffin at Paducah, and the "dips" barking like hungry wolves at every station they made. The court at Clinton adjourned and the District members left for their destination, while Buckalew took the midnight flyer for Washington to make a report on the case to his superior. The Advisory Board members of District No. 21 that were the jury in the case were A. E. Fritz, J. J. Meagher, P. J. Jensen, E. M. Young, J. A. Nortney, Wm. A. Newman, L. M. Hawver, H. J. Molloy, Vice President J. D. Buckalew, and the defendant, yours truly.

In accordance with the Machinists' constitution, the Grand Lodge has jurisdiction over a District lodge, and notice was served on President Hawver of the District, who handled that office after my suspension, that whatever funds they would receive would have to be disbursed through the District and to Machinists exclusively, and in view of the fact that the Dis-

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trict had all agreed to handle their end of the strike through the Federation, they did not do so after Jack Buckalew gave them the Washington orders that they could not. They put up no further fight, but laid down to satisfy Washington. Therefore, in going ahead with the Federation, starting a paper and carrying out the instructions as given by the Federation Advisory Board, had to be met with the District laying down on their agreement. Mr. McCreery on the shelf in Paducah, W. E. Bowen of New Orleans carrying out McCreery's instructions to "keep hands off," and all the organized forces of opposition against the Federation was not a pleasant situation to face.

At the time Jack Buckalew had his District in Clinton for my trial, I already had several men on the road, one of whom was a gentleman by the name of G. C. Martyn, formerly of Memphis, Tenn., who made a trip over the Illinois Central Lines north of Memphis and organized the local Federations previous to the Memphis convention in May, 1911.

Mr. Martyn was at this time working in Somerset, Ky., and I sent him to Atlanta, Ga., where there was a convention of different labor organizations of the South. He went to this convention to advertise the strike, solicit subscriptions for the strike bulletin and funds for the movement. I am quoting you a wire received from him, which is as follows:

WESTERN UNION

NIGHT LETTER

1 CH S 77 Paid.

ATLANTA, GA., Dec. 9, 1912.

C. E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Conlon says all G. L. Presidents agreed to stop bulletins. Have arranged to finance *Liberator* as official bulletin. Says McCreery wrote he was neither connected with or supporting bulletin. Advises me wire from McCreery agrees that I speak for funds and send to Bowen and Harriman Lines all money direct. Says I will go wrong in taking subscriptions, so I am puzzled. Prospects good one hundred present. Wire fully at once.

G. C. MARTYN.
8:33 A. M.—10th.

How does this connect up the situation? Of course, Buckalew had been in Washington before he took his District to Clinton for my trial, and there it was agreed on that the strike bulletin must be killed. Note that the wire states, "Conlon says all Grand Lodge Presidents agreed to stop bulletin." You understand at this time we had forced them to federate in order that they might put the strikers' Federation out of business.

Look up the next portion of the wire, which "states," "Says McCreery wrote he was neither connected with or supporting the bulletin." Of course, McCreery had been fixed at this time. But turn back to the proposition endorsed by the Advisory Board, and then you will see that he was connected with the bulletin. No doubt that President Johnston knew that Martyn was to be sent to Atlanta for this convention and therefore sent Pete Conlon there, who was up to date on the issue in question. This telegram will connect up the one received from President Johnston during my trial at Clinton a few days before, will it not?

But to keep us from getting the Federation on its feet they are going to start another federation in competition, as indicated by Martyn's telegram of December 9, 1912. Here you can see that McCreery appointed Mr. Bowen in New Orleans as Secretary again, thinking, of course, this would put a scare in us. No doubt he was told to do this, and who do you suppose gave him such instructions? I will put page 65 of the January issue for 1913 of the *Machinists' Journal* on the stand, and I am sure that McCreery or Bowen never got any space in this journal before this time. It reads as follows:

The following circular letter has been sent out by our brothers now on strike on the Illinois Central and tells of a means they have adopted to finance their fight, and is reproduced here so as to assist them by giving their plan as much publicity as possible. If you have not already done so, take up the matter and get someone or several to handle their time books, or at least get into communication with them through the address given in the letter which follows:

"Under separate cover we are sending you souvenir time book

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of the Illinois Central strike of 1911 and 1912, which contains valuable information as well as being a souvenir of the strike, at the same time a useful time book which is used by every working man.

"The time books are gotten out by the Illinois System Federation to raise money to carry on the strike to a successful termination. The men on the Illinois Central are putting up a noble fight and the longer it lasts the more determined the men are to win, which is plainly seen by the losses reported by the company to the Commerce Commission.

"The Illinois Central finds itself facing another winter with its engines and rolling stock in far worse shape than they were a year ago, with their business falling off to such an extent that it has necessitated great reductions in the transportation departments. They are continually reducing tonnage and pulling off trains and showing in every way that they are unable to overcome the effects of the strike. If we can maintain our picket lines throughout this winter we feel that we can force them to a satisfactory settlement.

"We are asking you to sell these books or appoint some agent in your town to sell them at the price of ten cents apiece, and after retaining 25% of the receipts for your work or their work, send the balance money to

W. E. BOWEN,

Secretary-Treasurer of the System Federation of the Illinois
Central and Allied Lines, P. O. Box 367, Paducah, Ky.

Now, what do you think of that? McCreery's new Federation got space in the *Machinists' Journal*, printed in the January issue of 1913, which means that the copy must have been in the hands of the printer about the 20th of December, 1912. Mr. Martyn's telegram from Atlanta was dated the 9th of December, 1912. They even induced McCreery to start a federation in competition to the one that he let die, and then laid in Clinton for three days to persuade me to take hold of it, and it was turned over to me, not by McCreery, but by the Executive Board, as the records will show.

Were any of the other circulars sent out by the Federation or by the Machinists' District given space in the *Machinists' Journal*? Not much. This was the Machinists' organization who started a new federation by using McCreery. You have heard Grand Lodge officers sometime express themselves about dual unions; of course, this did not apply in this case, for they started it themselves. To better understand this, you

should turn back and read Mr. Bowen's letter of August 15, 1912, and Mr. McCreery's letter of August 22, 1912; then you can better connect up the conspiracy.

You will note that Mr. Bowen's address was New Orleans, La., and this was his address since the inception of the strike until after November 27, as his letter to me of that date will indicate, as it was dated from New Orleans. Did Mr. Bowen move to Paducah, Ky., for the emergency to get another federation started, or did McCreery only use Bowen's name because his name was known as Secretary of the Federation in the early days of the strike, when a little money came in without having to go after it?

The Grand Lodge officers wanted a federation that they could handle—a federation that would let the movement die without a protest; a federation just like McCreery had run up to August 22, the date of the letter to me when he asked me to go after President Ryan of the Carmen because the movement was dying on him in Paducah, and he knew not what was going on outside of Paducah at the time. He did not know that at that time there were 15 terminal points where there was no one on the job whatever, and he cared much less. For he thought the Federation and the strike ended outside of the city limits of Paducah, Ky.

Mr. J. F. McCreery was made Vice President of the Carmen at their Milwaukee convention in 1913, so he was compensated for his loyalty to the machine. By betraying the interests of his fellows that were depending on him for leadership he made himself a job. We will now place McCreery on the shelf, as far as this story is concerned, for we are done with him, and his name in the future will only be used as a matter of reference.

Mr. W. E. Bowen did not know the situation as McCreery did; he was a well-meaning, kind-hearted soul, who was brought up under the authority which it was a pleasure to respect. Mr. Bowen was not aware of the trap that was set, but realized it after. Mr. Bowen attended the Railway Department

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convention in 1914, where he was taken ill and died in Kansas City during the convention there.

The following reply was sent to the wire received from Mr. Martyn at Atlanta, Ga.:

CLINTON, ILL., Dec. 9, 1912.

G. C. MARTYN,
Atlanta, Ga.

Follow instructions received from Person. Don't wire McCreery or you will be farther confused. McCreery is trying to act under Conlon's instructions. Conlon lacks information regarding our plan. Person selected as strike Secretary of System Federation with power to receive and disburse funds. This was approved by McCreery and Federation Executive Committee. You will not go wrong in taking subscriptions and sending funds to Carl Person. We can make good. Stand firm.

H. J. MOLLOY, Business Agent, District No. 21.
L. M. HAWVER, President, District No. 21.

Mr. Jack Buckalew was in Clinton when Martyn's wire from Atlanta was received, and he was happy to know that his comrade, Pete Conlon, was on the job in Atlanta to oppose anything that we were doing. I shall put Buckalew on the stand regarding the Atlanta matter after a while.

Mr. Buckalew was not satisfied after losing his case in Clinton, but started out to work on the members of the District that were as yet putting their efforts in the federated movement, and we will therefore track him up for a short while that you may understand what his efforts were, and in reply to a letter from Mr. Hawver he writes as follows:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

CHICAGO, ILL., Dec. 18, 1912.

MR. L. M. HAWVER,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Just read your letter with the enclosures, all of which has been given due consideration. First, permit me to advise we cannot put on any of the men you mention as pickets and pay them from the funds we have on hand, except Nauman and Stone. I believe the others are Carmen and I am not going to pay their men to stay on strike at any place where we are not already doing so, and going to stop that just as soon as I can get a machinist to take their places.

Fraternally yours,

J. D. BUCKALEW,
International Vice President.

Mr. Hawver had written Mr. Buckalew in regard to placing a man on the picket line at a point where there were no pickets and, as you can see, he states, "*I believe the others are carmen.*" Of course, a terminal point on the system had to be deserted because there was no machinist that would work for six dollars a week. Jurisdictional lines were drawn very close here, as you can see, for even the six-dollars-a-week jobs of looking after the strike at Carbondale, Ill., had to be filled by a machinist, or else have no one there to look after it. You will remember Jack Buckalew as an able "preacher of the all for one and the one for all." Even McCreery in his letter to me of August 22, 1912, when he wanted me to get after President Ryan of the Carmen, was of the opinion that the money should be "pooled" in the interest of the strike. Of course this was before McCreery was "fixed." Turn back and read this letter again, and then you can realize that McCreery fell for the song of those that worked in opposition to the federated movement.

Let us put Jack Buckalew on the stand again and see what he is trying to do a little later:

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Dec. 20, 1912.

BROTHERS HAWVER AND NEWMAN,
Clinton and Mattoon.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: In the future you will please pay all the machinists in the payroll of District 21 by check and from the office of Secretary-Treasurer. This, I believe, is in accordance with the laws of both the G. L. and the District.

Now, if you want to know what I think about the matter, will say this: the G. L., as well as myself, do not think it necessary to keep two offices; that is, doing business from two points that can be put into one. I am not in favor of taking the office away from Mattoon, as we have that place as well advertised as we can for the place to receive donations. To make it any other place would be to our detriment and especially to Clinton.

I need you both in this fight, and I know the men on the firing line want you both to stay on the job; therefore, I would appreciate it very much if Brother Hawver can see his way clear to move to Mattoon and take charge of the fight from that point.

Should President Hawver consent to move to Mattoon we will buy a new machine and such other material, and I rather expect that between the two of you, you can handle all the business from your respective homes. We will buy the machine anyway for the Secretary-

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Treasurer's office, but I was thinking that it might be used by Hawver should he come to Mattoon.

If you men only knew what I am going through with at this time, you would, I am sure, help to make as good a fight as we can with the means we have.

Please give this matter your earliest consideration and write me at home, 109 Duane St., Topeka, Kan.

With best wishes, I am,

Faternally yours,

J. D. BUCKALEW,
Vice President, I. A. of M.

The letter is a joke. Poor old Jack had a stormy career trying to satisfy Washington. What he wanted to do now was to get President Hawver away from Clinton, for fear that I would use some undue influence on him. Jack also plays up the economy end of it. There was no use to keep up two offices; that's fine, but they had no office in Mattoon; Wm. A. Newman was working and had been working for about a year, and handled the work as Secretary at his home. If Buckalew wanted to eliminate all the unnecessary offices, then he should have joined the Federation and handled all business through the Federation. This would certainly have cut out all the unnecessary offices, wouldn't it?

But it was simply Jack's play to try and get Hawver away from Clinton. He puts up the argument to cut out an office, but as you will note he wants two offices in Mattoon, Ill., and is further willing to purchase a machine (not an automobile, just a typewriter); note the promise of a machine. Jack is playing here like some small kid, who would say, "If you come over and play I will give you some candy."

In reply to Mr. Buckalew's letter, President Hawver wrote him as follows:

CLINTON, ILL., Dec. 23, 1912.

MR. J. D. BUCKALEW,
Topeka, Kan.

Dear Sir and Brother: I have your letter of the 20th; sorry to note that you have placed me in the class of J. F. McCreery. I went on strike for federation and have sacrificed 15 months, as well as my home, and here you are asking me at this time to surrender all this for a "machine." I cannot help but think that you had to make McCreery larger promises than you made me.

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

I have a telegram that my father is sick in Florida, and will have to go down and look after him. If I could stay, I would stay with Carl Person, the only man in the movement that has had the nerve to whip you all into line.

Fraternally,

L. M. HAWVER,

President District No. 21, I. A. of M.

To give you a better idea of Jack Buckalew's attitude in regard to the "all for one and one for all" that he preached during the early dates of the strike, I will let you hear from Business Agent Molloy on the subject, who wrote:

CHICAGO, Dec. 29, 1912.

Dear Person: I received your circular addressed to Dear Rebel and Agitator; that will get some of their goats if they get to see it.

I seen Buckalew yesterday, and he said that Hawver wanted to put on three Carmen, and that he had told Hawver that hereafter "WE THE DISTRICT" would not pay any Carmen or Boilermakers, or anyone else benefits, from the Machinist funds. Some more nice big spirit for the DADDY OF THE FEDERATION. I guess he means to follow instructions from now on.

I had quite a talk with Jim Kline the other day and he is not opposed to putting one of his Vice Presidents on the Illinois Central and let him work under the Federation. He said he would do so, if the other Grand Lodge Presidents would. Some of us little fellows have big ideas, but Jim Kline is a big fellow that will listen to anything that seems right.

Yours for federation,

H. J. MOLLOY,

Business Agent District No. 21.

From Business Agent Molloy we can understand that Jack Buckalew had received his instructions, can we not? And if such was the case should we allow him or others to tear down the Federation movement?

Also note what Molloy says in regard to Mr. Kline, who had approved of our proposition, and would put a Vice President from the Blacksmiths to work with us under the jurisdiction of the Federation. By this method, and this method only, could we have obtained the best results, that is, by getting together and working with each other for the interest of the movement as a whole, instead of for the interest of a particular craft.

Molloy also gives us some enlightenment on Buckalew's

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attitude toward the Carmen. Hawver wanted to put a few pickets on at points where there was no one. There was none other than Carmen to do the work. But because they were Carmen Buckalew would have nothing to do with them, and therefore no one was on the picket lines at such places. And, as Molloy states, Buckalew was the daddy of the Federation, as he admitted himself a little later.

As I promised a little while ago to put Jack Buckalew on the stand regarding the Atlanta Convention, when Pete Conlon and McCreery were on the job, to stop our man Martyn from doing anything in the interest of the men on strike at the Atlanta Convention. Therefore, let us hear from Jack Buckalew's letter upon this subject, in which he says:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

TOPEKA, KAN., DEC. 31, 1912.

MR. G. O. MARTYN,
Somerset, Ky., General Delivery.

Dear Sir and Brother: I knew about your visit to Atlanta after you got there; I was in Clinton when it was decided you should be sent, but no one said anything to me about it. Molloy, Person and Hawver took the responsibility of diverting the funds of District 21 into the I. C. System Federation some time ago. They also took the responsibility of putting on pickets of other organizations and sending out organizers over the country at the expense of the district.

They certainly realized that I was being held responsible for every nickel spent from the treasury of District 21. They also know the hard fight I have had with local lodges in getting funds to carry on this strike. Every one must know the uphill fight I have had with the heads of some of the other organizations, and, considering the upheaval in our own organization, brought about almost entirely by Person's letters, if any action of any kind was to be taken relative to finances or changing the attitude of our district, I, as the man held responsible for these things by our Grand Lodge and membership, should have been consulted.

Therefore, as soon as I learned of their action, I countermanded every order as it applied to Newman's office relative to financing anyone at any place.

Person had several hundred dollars of his own money, which he started to spend, but soon run amuck as he realized there would be no income to replenish it. I did not want him to spend his money on organizers and the Bulletin, and agreed to finance the Bulletin out of the district treasury, which has been and is being done at the expense of about \$25 per week. Perhaps you haven't figured it out, but it will take about 400 new subscribers every week to pay for the printing alone. If the Bulletin reaches a circulation of more than five thousand it will be a curiosity. This might have been possible if Person had tried to get

along with the Grand Lodge officers instead of calling them dogs and czars. He hasn't the backing of a single International President, and so far as our organization is concerned, I just received a letter from Washington telling me that I have jurisdiction over Person and the right to take his card and book away from him if he does not stop maligning the International officers, until such time as he can prove his statements.

No one but myself knows what I have had to contend with in this strike. I never yet had to fight our own people as I have in this movement. I put Person on the job as statistician of the strike because I thought I could use his Bulletin with better effect than the one gotten out in New Orleans, with no intention of ignoring the other Bulletin, but because it was not giving results. Later on Molloy and Hawver appointed him Assistant Secretary, which was ratified by the district. Then my troubles commenced.

I wrote Person and Hawver quite a lengthy letter, telling them how to solicit funds. This was very successful, but they did not stop at that, but launched out on their own hook without advising with me what move to make, and in a few weeks got into a letter controversy with the Grand Lodge, which developed into Johnston wiring Molloy, Person and myself to meet him in St. Louis. At that conference Johnston made us a proposition that he would give us 25 per cent of all donations received and would pay Molloy's entire salary, thereby relieving the district of any responsibility of his salary or expense. This was agreed to between Wharton, Johnston, Person and Molloy and myself.

Just prior to this suspension, they took hold of the Federation without consulting me whatever, and agreed to spend our money on McCreery, Bowen and Pullen, which I objected to.

If you only knew the letters that have gone out over the country accusing us of misappropriating our funds, you would realize why I have been so careful about how the money is spent.

This is just a brief history of some of the facts in the case. Now, I have notified a great many southeastern lodges and expect to notify the rest that our Grand Lodge is paying us six and eight dollars per week, through donations sent to us thru the Grand Lodge. Any lodge desiring us to have their money can send it to Preston with instructions to send it to Newman, and we will get it. Other organizations are paying their men ten dollars a week to stay on strike. Therefore, we machinists have got to raise the extra two or four dollars, whichever we can pay, by voluntary donations. If Person, Molloy or Hawver keep up much of their tactics we will be unable to even do this because Machinists will NOT donate to pay Carmen, Boilermakers and Blacksmiths when they are expected to take care of themselves. Out of 934 lodges, less than fifty are donating at the present time to the district. Perhaps about 275 to the Grand Lodge. This is a fair idea of how our members look at the situation.

I trust I will not have to take any action against Person and his Bulletin, but we are paying for it entirely out of the district's money. No organization is paying in a nickel. By getting down to business and fighting the strike under the jurisdiction of men who have been years in this work, he could be of some service to us, but a few more of his sarcastic editorials and unjust criticisms will of itself put the Bulletin out of business.

Now, Brother Martin, I am a federationist first, last and all the

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time. I believe I taught the major portion of our organization what federation means. I have stood by it and fought for it to my own detriment and I expect in some instances to the detriment of our organization. I still believe in it so much that I was responsible for the set of laws being drafted that was endorsed in Kansas City and became the Federation of Federations and later the Railway Department of the A. F. of L. By taking this stand I have lost many friends. I still believe in it and believe it will be a power some day, but such tactics as Person has adopted will be of vast injury to what has already been accomplished.

If you take my advice, you will drop him right now and do what you can to divert the money that is being raised into Newman and Alverd's office.

Write me in care of Newman's office, 3101 Champaign Avenue, Mattoon, Ill.

Fraternally yours,

J. D. BUCKALEW,
International Vice President.

To properly comment on Jack Buckalew's history of the strike would necessitate several volumes. You have read his letter issued to the district in September, 1912, and you will best note how Jack has softened up by this time. He states that his trouble commenced when I was made Assistant Secretary of the district. I fancy it was about time to start some trouble with the strike breakers who were killing the movement from the inside.

I did not run after Jack Buckalew or the district, but after they came and cried and as the financial report of the district for June will show they were only getting a few dollars, it was high time for some trouble, and this will be appreciated by some of the biggest men in the movement as we get further into the story.

Jack's ideas were so small that he did not think it was possible to get a circulation for the Bulletin over four or five thousand. The paper developed into a larger curiosity than he expected, as we shall see further on, as there were times when its circulation reached one million copies, and Jack's little district did not pay one cent for its support, as he tries to convey in his letter. The district subscribed to have the paper sent to the lodges from which they were getting funds, so the district simply paid for their subscriptions, just the same as any other subscriber did.

Jack further was in favor of taking the 25 per cent of the money that the Grand Lodge was confiscating, as we can see from his letter, inasmuch as he states that we accepted the proposition in St. Louis. From all indications I made Jack Buckalew, the man of many battles, play ball for a while, and play it hard, and that is what he was drawing his wages for. I felt strong for making them all earn their money, from President Johnston down.

Jack failed to make good, and therefore Washington headquarters gave him a short time to wind up his business and resign, which he did in the early part of 1913. We were willing to play ball with Buckalew as long as he was willing to play the game in the direction of the path that drove homeward. He could have remained as a Vice President of the Machinists, stayed on the line or elsewhere. I would have taken upon my own shoulders the responsibility for all that Washington did not line up with and smiled at their suspensions. But when Jack went out to fight the Federation, for which the boys had crawled out of the round-house pits, then Jack, too, had outlived his usefulness as far as the strike was concerned, and he had to take the consequences from the restless children that he had helped to drive out upon the rocky roads of this cruel old world.

When some people are forced to live up to their beliefs and comply with their utterances, they don't seem to like it so much. But they made 38,000 of the boys from the parade like it, and it is good policy to give the policeman a little dose of his own medicine once in a while.

President Hawver had to leave at this time for Florida, on account of sickness in his family. He stayed there for a while, and later returned to St. Louis, Mo., where he went to work, but did everything possible in the interest of the strike. Wm. A. Newman, the Secretary of the district, was working in Mattoon, just as he had been for nearly a year. Business Agent Molloy, who although he was on the Grand Lodge payroll stayed on the job and, as we have noted by the records, worked

in the interest of the Federation, and was successful in doing so for some time to come, even at the expense of the Machinists' Association, as they were paying him his salary and expenses, but of course did not know that he was one of the moving spirits responsible for what had taken place in inaugurating a federated effort of handling the strike. As soon as Johnston found out that Molloy was a Federationist he started to take him off the strike zone and sent him out over the country organizing. Molloy failed us here, for he should have stuck with the men on strike and told Johnston that it was his duty to stand with the men he represented as Business Agent before and after the strike was called. Molloy occasionally dropped around to some of the terminal points on the Illinois Central after Johnston had made him an organizer for the Association and was instrumental in starting another insurrection in the Machinists' district against Johnston and the Grand Lodge, which we shall see as we get further into the story.

PART III

THE DECLARATION OF WAR ON THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL SYSTEM FED- ERATION BY THE GRAND LODGE PRESIDENTS AND THE FEDERA- TION'S FIGHT FOR EXISTENCE

FEDERATION'S APPEAL FOR CO-OPERATION

BY the month of December, 1912, the Federation had got pretty well started, even in face of all the organized opposition. A survey of the terminal points had been made, to determine how many men were devoting their time to the strike and its interest and what crafts they held membership in, as well as the amount of money they were being paid for their services. After the collection of these statistics it was time to place them before the different International officers, so that they would have a photograph of conditions as they really existed. On the 25th of December, 1912, I forwarded them the results of my discovery, as the following letter will best explain, and reads as follows:

CLINTON, ILL., Dec. 25, 1912.

WM. H. JOHNSTON, International President Machinists.
J. A. FRANKLIN, International President Boilermakers.
M. F. RYAN, International President Carmen.
J. W. KLINE, International President Blacksmiths.
M. O'SULLIVAN, International President Sheet Metal Workers.
J. T. KENSELLA, International President ———.
G. F. HEADRICK, International President Painters.
J. J. CARRIGAN, International President Railroad Clerks.

Dear Sirs: The men on strike on the Illinois Central have created this office for the purpose of handling the strike in a federated effort. We are at this time forwarding you some information on what your organization is doing on the Illinois Central.

We are asking those of you who are not doing anything for this movement if you will place with us a stipulated amount of money every week for the purpose of maintaining the necessary amount of men on the system.

Would you please inform us if you will place the money you are placing or that you will place in the future into a general fund to be used for paying the men who are on the job? If not, will you inform us where you are placing your money, and how much of it you are putting out on this system? If we have made a mistake in your standing on the score sheet, we want to rectify it, and we shall hope to hear from you in the near future on this matter; also what you will do to co-operate with us in making the strike more effective, as we want to let the men who are working know just what you are doing in this strike and what you will do in the future for its best interest, and in this we do not desire to misrepresent anything. With the co-operation of all concerned results can be accomplished. Let us know how much money you are going to place on the system and where, and if the Grand Lodges are not going to place enough on the system to meet with the requirements, we will then know how much this movement will have to raise.

The following will give you the number of pickets it is necessary to maintain at the different points on the Illinois Central if results are to be obtained in the strike situation:

East St. Louis	6	Amboy	2
Centralia	4	Cherokee	2
Waterloo	6	Ft. Dodge	2
Cairo	3	Memphis	8
Princeton	2	Vicksburg	6
Mounds	3	McComb	6
Freeport	6	New Orleans	6
Paducah	8	Mattoon	4
Fulton	2	Clinton	4
Central City	2	Chicago	12
Jackson	2	Evansville	4
Champaign	4	Carbondale	2
Louisville	4	Water Valley	6
Council Bluffs	2		
Indianapolis	2	Total	122
Birmingham	2		

It is necessary for this movement to get at least fifteen dollars a week for the men on the job. They will then be in a position to devote all their time to the interest of the strike.

You will note that it is necessary as per the line-up to have 122 men to look after the interest of the strike, and to pay each man \$15 per week. It will be necessary to spend \$1,830 per week on the Illinois Central.

Total number of men.....	122
Amount per week	\$15.00

610
122

Total amount for week.....\$1,830.00

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You are now placing about \$918 per week on the system, and in the distribution of this money you have forgotten that Amboy, Council Bluffs, Cherokee, Indianapolis, Carbondale and Birmingham are important junctions on the Illinois Central. YOU have done nothing at these points, and some of you have forgotten all the points on the Illinois Central and the fact that your organization is on strike on this road.

Name of organizations and the amount of men on their payroll at the different points on the Illinois Central System, Dec. 25, 1912:

	Machin- ists	Boiler- makers	Black- smiths	Car- men	Clerks	Sheet Mt. Wkrs.	Ptrs.	Total Pkts.
East St. Louis...	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
Centralia	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Waterloo	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	6
Cairo	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Princeton	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mounds	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Freeport	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
Paducah	4	2	1	3	0	1	0	11
Fulton	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Central City	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Jackson	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Champaign	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Louisville	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Council Bluffs...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indianapolis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Birmingham	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Amboy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cherokee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ft. Dodge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Memphis	6	0	2	0	0	1	0	9
Vicksburg	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
McComb	4	0	2	4	0	2	0	12
New Orleans...	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Mattoon	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Clinton	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Chicago	6	2	2	0	0	1	0	11
Evansville	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Carbondale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	51	8	12	9	0	6	0	86

Weekly benefits
paid by

Total per week
at all points

Machinists	\$12.00	\$612.00
Boilermakers	10.00	80.00
Blacksmiths	10.00	120.00
Carmen	4.00	45.00
Sheet Metal Workers.....	10.00	60.00
Clerks	(Dead as a door nail)	
Painters	DEAD	

\$918.00

The Machinists have in addition to the number listed herein, some forty men on the I. C. System, that they are paying from six to eight dollars per week.

The Boilermakers are at this time placing several men on the system and the eight that the Boilermakers have on at this time are just put on; they have not done anything in the way of paying their pickets for a long time. However, they are making an effort to this end at this time.

I shall thank you for an early reply and assuring you that we court your co-operation, I am,

Fraternally yours,

CARL E. PERSON.

The Machinists who were credited with \$12 per week were receiving four dollars out of this from the district. Imagine, if you can, this proposition's getting into Washington. After Mr. Johnston had left Jack Buckalew a month before he received this letter, with the expressed hope that he would be able to put the movement out of business, here we were stronger than ever, which would seem to indicate that we knew more about the situation than they did themselves. While they were successful through their report in the monthly journals to make the element that never question anything believe that they had several thousand men on the line, and that the strike was being fought aggressively, they discovered that somebody had gone over the situation and taken the blue prints. President Kline of the Blacksmiths wrote the following letter:

CHICAGO, ILL., Dec. 27, 1912.

CARL E. PERSON,

Box 33, Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your letter of December 25, 1912, to the various officers just received and carefully noted. In reply to same, I wish to state the following:

I am perfectly willing for someone, be he as black as a Hottentot, or as red as an Indian, if he is unselfish enough and big enough to lay aside his craft jealousy, to inaugurate a system that will satisfy the rank and file. I will assure you this, that he will have the co-operation of the undersigned.

You say that it is necessary to pay the men at least \$15 per week. There is no reason why this cannot be done for the men that are giving us their time, if the proper co-operation can be established. We are now putting \$160 per week on the Illinois Central; you did not credit us with one picket in Centralia, one at Vicksburg, and we have two at Water Valley.

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As I said above, I am willing to co-operate with anyone that is not bothered with cold feet; that will organize a system of pickets that will be effective, for I believe we can make the old Hog route squirm.

With best wishes for your success, I am,

J. W. KLINE,
International President I. B. of B. & H.

This was received later from the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

LAFAYETTE, IND., January 21, 1913.

CARL E. PERSON,
Federation of Railway Employees,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your communication (No. 4542) urging that the Brotherhood provide pickets to serve on the firing line has been submitted to the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood for its consideration.

I am instructed to notify you that so many demands for better conditions are being made this spring and so many strikes are expected, the members in several large cities being already on the street, that the General Executive Board have decided to defer all requests for financial assistance until its April meeting, when it will be in a better position to use to good advantage the limited amounts available for organizing and defense purposes. The Board regrets, therefore, to be unable to comply with the request of the Federation.

Fraternally yours,

J. S. KEMP, G. S. T.

The letters from the Blacksmiths and the Brotherhood of Painters were the replies received from our letter to the general officers. The other general officers would not even recognize the Federation to the extent of answering our communications. It can be said for the Illinois Central and Harriman Line railroads that they did better than this, for they at least answered the communications from the Federation secretaries and presidents when a conference was requested by the Federations. The communications were from the Illinois Central System Federation and drafted in compliance with what the Federation Advisory Board instructed to be done. Further, in compliance with what President McCreery wrote me in his letter asking me to go after President Ryan of the Carmen and further stated, "it looks like all the crafts should pool their money and maintain pickets." Of course, by this time we

had lost McCreery, but that should not have changed the situation any. We could not afford to lay down on the job and let the movement die, because McCreery had been oiled up and promised a vice presidency from the Carmen, could we?

J. A. Franklin of the Boilermakers did not answer the letter, but he had seen the handwriting on the wall and realized that although he would not recognize the Federation, he had to get out and do something to prevent us from getting out another such statement with only a few men on the system. He called his field men in at once and gave them new consignments, as the records will show. The Vice Presidents went out on flying trips and tried to put on pickets and they were so late on this excursion that when they got to some of the points, the boilermakers had left to go to work elsewhere because there was no money to keep them on the job. Let us see what they started out to do as soon as our letter of the 25th, 1912, had reached them. In this I quote the following authority.

J. F. Schmitt was Vice President of the Boilermakers. In his report in the February issue of the *Boilermakers' Journal* for 1913, pages 114-115, he states:

I put on MacMillan as a picket at Waterloo, Ia. Could not find a boilermaker in Freeport, therefore none to put on as a picket. Put on Brothers White, O'Brien, Sullivan, and Cundiff at Chicago. Made Clinton and not a boilermaker there. Put on Reynolds at Mattoon, Ill.; Eggers at Centralia, Ill.; Hoefflick at Evansville, Ind.; Robarbs at Central City, Ky.; put on Pruse and Beadless at Paducah, Ky.; O'Neal and Van Deventer at Memphis, Tenn.; Baker at Water Valley; O'Bean at McComb; Baker at Algiers, La.

Why was it that the Boilermakers' International Union was just commencing to put on pickets seventeen months after the strike?

Let us hear further from Jos. P. Ryan, Vice President of the Boilermakers, assigned to the Harriman Lines, in the February *Journal* of 1913, page 113:

I made North Platte, Neb., and appointed Thos. McGovern and Ed. Rodden as representatives there. Arrived in Denver and could find no boilermakers there for picket duty. Put on John Shields, John Murphy and John Rodine at Cheyenne, Wyo.; put on Jacob Claus and Frank Lepper at Laramie; put on Brother Dunn, Edward Doherty, and

John Henderson at Ogden. There being but one member available for picket duty at Salt Lake, Brother Roy Barrett, I appointed him. Put on John Morrow and Ed. Weeks at Evanston, Wyo.; Chas. Coffin and John Vaughan at Pocatello.

A. O. Hoard of the Sheet Metal Workers also made a tour of the struck lines and put on men here and there. In all cases, however, anyone that did strike duty had to belong to the craft that put up the money, and if they could not find a "worthy brother" of their craft at some place, then that place could stay deserted. The Machinists slipped on a man here and there. It indicates, however, that there was something brewing and enough noise behind the clouds that stirred them into action.

The men on the line no doubt wondered what had happened, that they became so generous all of a sudden, but it was this demand that had come through the Illinois Central Federation, calling their attention to what they were and what they were not doing. When they found out that we knew how much money they were putting on the line, and just where they were putting it, the field men were sent out at once; but of course it was a craft proposition with all of them, and therefore when they got their men on, there were possibly ten pickets at one point and at the next terminal there was not one. Then in the next month's *Journal* of the fraternity the worthy brothers would be told about the "principle of all for one and one for all."

On the Harriman Lines the situation was even worse than it was on the Illinois Central. Out of a possible eighty terminal points on the Harriman Lines there were only about eighteen terminal points where the men on the line were getting strike benefits at this time. That was possibly due to the fact that no one had gone after the Grand Lodge officers from the Harriman Lines up to this time, and so that you will realize that this is not at all fiction, I wish to quote you some authority on this. Business Agent J. G. Taylor, who handled the strike on the coast for the Machinists, says in his report which was written about December 20, 1912 (about the same

time as my letter of December 25 was issued to the Grand Lodge officers) and is printed in the *Machinists' Journal* a month afterwards (page 65, of the January issue of the *Machinists' Journal*) the following:

Getting down to brass tacks, I visited Sparks, Nev., and spent two days there. We have ten pickets of the various crafts on the line there, **NONE OF WHOM ARE DRAWING BENEFITS FROM ANY SOURCE**, and all of whom are supporting themselves.

Such were the conditions on the Harriman Lines, and Sparks, Nev., was one of the largest shops on the Harriman Lines, and thirteen months after the strike was called there was only ten men on the picket line, none of them getting one cent in strike benefits. How long could these men be expected to stay on the line under these conditions? Why did not Mr. Taylor protest against these conditions? As Business Agent did he not realize that this would eventually cause the ship to go down?

Good picket lines on the Harriman Lines were maintained at Oakland, Cal.; Portland, Ore.; Tracy, Cal.; Milford, Utah; Tucson, Ariz.; El Paso, Texas; Los Angeles, Cal.; Roseburg, Ore.; Hempstead, Texas; Starbuck, Wash.; Ogden, Utah; Pocatello, Idaho; Salt Lake, Utah, and a few other places where there was a live bunch of men, and where they were able to remain on the line, as J. G. Taylor, Machinists' Business Agent, states they were at Sparks, Nev., without any benefits.

With \$3,000 a week a picket line could have been established on the Harriman Lines and the men paid sufficient to stay on the job. For \$5,000 a week the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines could have been handled effectively and successfully. Had the Grand Lodge officers got together as was requested in this letter of December 25, 1912, and pooled their interests as far as the strike was concerned, they could have fought and won; and if not, kept it up indefinitely. For if six or seven International Unions could not raise, or afford to spend \$5,000 per week in a strike that was

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of as much importance to them as one on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, even if they had to continue to spend this amount for ten years to come, then they have ceased to be labor organizations. But in the words of that old and well-known rebel, E. V. Debs, they are coffin clubs and should hand their charters over to secret societies.

President Ryan of the Carmen did not answer the letter of December 25, 1912, but it was instrumental in jarring a piece of money loose for the men on strike a little later. We shall put Mr. John Scott, Secretary of the Railway Department, on the stand. Here is his statement:

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

St. Louis, Mo., May 15, 1913.

C. E. PERSON,
Box No. 32,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: For your information I beg to advise that I am in receipt of the following list of checks that have been sent to the members of the B. R. C. of A. by Brother Weeks on the 12th. This for the purpose of maintaining the picket lines at the various points. As Brother Ryan is desirous of doing the best possible under the circumstances with the limited means at hand, I am sure that he would appreciate any suggestions you can offer that would in any way help matters.

Dewey, Centralia	\$100.00	Memphis, Tenn.	\$ 50.00
Council Bluffs	100.00	Paducah, Ky.	100.00
Evansville, Ind.	50.00	Chicago, Ill.	50.00
Vicksburg, Miss.	100.00	Clinton, Ill.	50.00
New Orleans, La.....	100.00	Freeport, Ill.	50.00
Mounds, Ill.	100.00	Amt. to I. C.....	1,200.00
McComb, Miss.	100.00	Amt. to Harriman Lines...	.....
E. St. Louis, Ill.....	100.00		
Water Valley, Miss.....	100.00	Total	\$2,350.00

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOHN SCOTT,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. Scott stated in his letter that he thought Mr. Ryan of the Carmen would appreciate any suggestions, and while I had sent Mr. Ryan a suggestion on December 25, 1912, which he had not as yet answered, I favored Mr. Scott with the following suggestions:

CLINTON, ILL., May 16, 1913.

MR. JNO. SCOTT,
301 Sawyer Bldg.,
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Scott: Yours of May 15, including a statement of distribution of money by the Carmen's Association, to hand and fully noted.

Will say in response to same that it is only another demonstration of precedent, and only what can be expected of proselytes of INDIVIDUALISM along the lines that can give no RESULTS—some more money placed with those who are simply on strike and NOT STRIKING.

Some of this money is placed with men who are entitled to some compensation, but most of it is placed with those who will not and have not turned a hand over for the interest of this strike, and in fact they are working, but this is their system. This is the only LAW that they know—the law of INDIVIDUALISM—and let me say while the Carmen are EXTREME ADHERENTS of this law that is a crude violation of all the efforts of FEDERATION, they are not alone; there are others from the OLD SCHOOL, with the old thoughts, but I might state that this distribution that they are making is one that will give about one hundred dollars results for a thousand-dollar investment.

The joke of it is, at Fulton, Ky., Carbondale, Ill., they have had a man at each point all the time and they did not pay them anything. They have devoted all their time to the interest of the movement, but they were not entitled to any compensation. However, I presume they cut them out because they know that we would pay them if we could.

I wrote Ryan and the rest of the Presidents some time ago what they could accomplish if they would co-operate with each other—if they would recognize the law of Federation that they are doing so much BELLY-ACHING about and trying to force a railroad company to recognize.

The fact of it is, Scott, they won't recognize the Federation themselves, and thus they are not getting the results they should get.

If Ryan would take what money that he could place on the struck roads and Johnston the same, Kline, Franklin and the rest of them, and leave it with you and Wharton, and you could send the I. C. share of it to us, and the Harriman part of it out on the Harriman Lines, or distribute it direct yourself, you could keep a small army of men at every point on the system, and men that would give you results and do something for the interest of the strike, and you could pay them to warrant them staying on the job and get results for the money, and further, keep them on the job all the time—not as Ryan is doing just now. His men get a few dollars; someone that has not been on the job for six months; he is not acquainted with the situation; he does not know what to do. If he tried to do anything, some of them won't do anything, and others will possibly lay off from their work for a week or ten days to walk the street until the little money they got is consumed, and then there are a few places where there have been a few loyal ones, and they are always on the job, but they won't get any more than the rest of them. Their methods of doing business would be a joke if this movement was not so serious—if there was not so much at stake for the working slaves—and because of this it is a crime.

If Ryan is one of those that cannot see any further than his own LITTLE FLOCK; if his mental qualifications cannot carry him any further than the Carmen's organization, I shall venture to say, in com-

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pliance with your interrogations for a suggestion, if he would pick out any three or four points on the system and place a man at each point and pay them 50 or 60 dollars per month regularly—enough so that they could meet their family obligations—he would get some results for his money, because these men would devote their entire time to the movement; but I must say what he is doing is an utter failure. It shows a lack of interest and disrespect to ECONOMY.

There are some good loyal Carmen on the system who would give us good results if they would inaugurate some method of paying them regularly, and they could do this if they would discontinue to pay the DEAD TIMBER. But YOU can't DO ANYTHING WITH THEM. And so we must do what we can ourselves along the line of federation, and eventually we will have the scattered forces driven together. We are making progress with all the obstacles against us. If the men that are working and furnish this money will wake up and see the fallacy of the system, the JOKE and the CRIME of the SCHOOL, they will change. However, in conclusion, I might state that it is deplorable that men who the workers look to for leadership should prostitute the interest of the workers as is being done in this strike, and violate all the elements of Federation and co-operation, such as is being done at the present time and since the inception of this strike.

Thanking you for your inquiry, I beg to remain,

Yours for the same old cause,
Fraternally yours.

CARL E. PERSON.

A copy of the above letter was sent to President Ryan of the Carmen, so that I would be sure that my suggestions would reach him. But for some reason President Ryan did not favor the suggestions.

The only favorable answer received to the letter of December 25, 1912, came from J. W. Kline of the Blacksmiths. He stated that he recognized this was the proper thing to do, and the best results could only be procured through this method of handling the strike and that if I was successful in getting the other Grand Lodge Presidents to "come along," pool their interests and handle the strike on the basis as outlined in my letter, I could figure on him as the first one. But get the other Grand Lodge Presidents to come along on the same proposition that they asked the Illinois Central to come along on, to recognize the Federation or federated law in handling anything that was impossible, unless you took a Winchester or two and went out and cleaned out their "camp." The game was hardly worth while doing this with a multitude of servile and satisfy-

ing serfs who stood and smiled as they rubbed it in. and made them like it. "Made them like it" is right.

THE CHICAGO FRAME UP

In the early part of 1913 there was an attempt made to settle the Illinois Central strike. Mr. W. H. Johnston of the Machinists submitted a proposition to some of the Grand Lodge officers at Detroit, Mich. This proposed settlement for the Illinois Central did not include any settlement on the Harriman Lines, and they were not to be taken into consideration. The men on the Harriman Lines were to be sacrificed for a settlement on the Illinois Central.

It developed that Mr. Johnston made the acquaintance of a Washington gentleman by the name of Mr. Stewart, who was General Superintendent of the Southern Railroad. He had formerly been associated with Vice President Parks of the Illinois Central. Both of these gentlemen had held official positions on the Union Pacific. A banquet of railroad men was to be held in the society circles in Washington. Mr. Parks, who was Vice President of the Illinois Central, was to be there. It is alleged that at this banquet a conference was made possible between Mr. Parks of the Illinois Central and President W. H. Johnston of the Machinists' Union, through the courtesy of Mr. Stewart, the General Superintendent of the Southern Railroad.

Shortly after this Washington banquet, Mr. Johnston came to Chicago and met some of the International officers at the Kaiserhof Hotel, where a proposition for calling off the Illinois Central strike was considered on the promise that Mr. Parks of the Illinois Central would put 300 of the strikers back to work within 30 days. According to the notes of the meeting, Mr. Franklin of the Boilermakers and Mr. Kline of the Blacksmiths refused to have anything to do with such a proposition, and stated that there would be no settlement unless it was put up to the men.

Mr. Johnston stated that it was Mr. Parks' desire not to let the men know anything about this proposed settlement. Johnston was then asked how he wished to act. He stated that we should call the strike off. In this Mr. Johnston was unable to get sufficient support among the International Presidents, and finally Kline here demanded that the strikers be consulted. It was agreed among them that they would ask Mr. Parks of the Illinois Central for a conference. Mr. Parks was called up by Mr. Johnston and a conference was arranged between him and the general officers.

Mr. Parks, Vice President of the Illinois Central, agreed to come down to the loop and look the boys over. The place for the conference was fixed at the Great Northern Hotel, and everything was to be on the Q. T. A busy Burnside striker had received an S. O. S. from someone who was on the "inside" at the general office of the Illinois Central, and several of the boys were sent down to hang around the Federal Building and "view the passing show" that was to take place at the Great Northern Hotel, opposite the Federal Building, Dearborn and Quincy streets, Chicago. Mr. Parks of the Illinois Central arrived and brought Mr. R. W. Bell, Superintendent of Motive Power and Machinery on the Illinois Central, with him. The International Presidents, who thought that the meeting was a secret one, slipped into the hotel through a drug store entrance. Others by the way of the alley and side doors, with one or two exceptions. They did not want to be seen by anyone who would happen to know them.

There is no verbatim report of this meeting, but it is said that it was a humorous affair. Mr. Parks of the Illinois Central appointed himself chairman of the meeting and at least temporarily acted as President of the Federation of Federations, while his assistant, Mr. R. W. Bell, was the judge on parliamentary questions. Mr. Johnston of the Machinists stated that they could not call the strike off without putting it up to the men, as formerly requested by Mr. Parks on account of opposition among the general officers. "Then," said

Mr. Parks, "if that is the case, it is of no use to consider it any further, for the men would vote to continue the strike." President Kline refused to call the strike off without his men voted to do so, but finally suggested to the other International officers that the General Chairmen be called together and have them discuss the matter. This was finally agreed to before the meeting with Parks and Bell. Mr. Parks and Mr. Bell knew the attitude of the men on the line better than some of the International Presidents; they knew that they would not even give his proposition as much consideration as the International Presidents had already given it, and when it was suggested that they should be democratic by letting the rank and file analyze this proposition through the "referendum," Mr. Parks insisted that a referendum on this question would be to continue the strike, and so they compromised by agreeing that it could be placed before the members of the Advisory Board and General Chairmen of the Illinois Central Federation.

This decision was reached after much discussion and a meeting of the Advisory Board and General Presidents was called to take place at the St. James Hotel in St. Louis, Mo., for March 2, 1913.

At this meeting their proposition of settling the strike for the sake of 300 jobs out of 12,000 men that had gone out on strike on September 20, 1911, on the Illinois Central was not only considered by the Advisory Board as being an inconsistent and disrespectful proposition to submit to them, but in addition the General Presidents were told that there could not be any kind of a settlement made on the Illinois Central which did not also include a settlement of the Harriman Lines.

Mr. J. A. Franklin of the Boilermakers, in a letter of March 11, 1913, covers these meetings in a report of which he says:

Kansas City, Kan., March 11, 1913. Paragraph 1. This is to advise you that on the 26th of February the Presidents of the organizations involved in the strike against the Harriman and Illinois Central Lines met in a conference with Vice President Parks and General Superin-

tendent of Motive Power, Mr. Bell, of the Illinois Central Lines, and after discussing the strike situation in all of its phases, a proposition was made by the officials to re-employ all of the men who are now on the line within ten days. This means, of course, only those who are doing actual picket duty, numbering approximately three hundred (300) men, and that they would re-employ all of the other men who went out on September 30, 1911, as fast as they could use them, and that the men would return under practically the same conditions that they enjoyed when the strike was called. We met the officials again on the 28th and still a later conference was held on March 7, but being unable to secure any more favorable terms, the International officers were compelled to notify Mr. Parks and Mr. Bell that we would not possibly accept any such condition as returning three hundred men out of the approximately nine thousand (9,000) men who went out September 30, 1912, could not be considered at this time. J. A. Franklin, International President.

Mr. Franklin is right in his letter of March 11. They were compelled to notify the Illinois Central Railroad that there was nothing doing, not because some of them wanted to do so of their own desires. "They were compelled" to do so by the Advisory Board of the Illinois Central System Federation, who had decided that if we had to lose, we could, but that we were going to stand with the boys who were on strike on the Harriman Lines, win or lose. No barnyard smiles from any of the Grand Lodge officers that Mr. Parks of the Illinois Central could use would have caused the Illinois Central strikers to turn traitors to their fellows who were on strike on the Harriman Lines.

Mr. Parks, who is a shrewd "business agent," knew, of course, how to play the game. He knew that if he could make a break on the Illinois Central he would eventually get good results for the Harriman Lines. You will note that he wanted those that were actually doing picket duty to go back first. Why? It would appear that Mr. Parks wanted to show special favors to those that had been most instrumental in making it difficult for his company to operate. Or could there be other reasons for Mr. Parks favoring the pickets, for, as you will note in Mr. Franklin's letter, he just wanted those doing "actual picket duty," regardless of the number he had on the line. This is the aggregation he wanted driven back into the bull-pens on the Illinois Central, and if this had been accom-

plished, the morning papers would have come out in headlines with the news that the Illinois Central strikers had gone back to work. What effect would that have on the men on the Harriman Lines? Practically no effect on those who were determined and knew where they were at, but what about those who go on strike and write home at times demanding to know why the strike is not won? It was Mr. Park's opinion that they would write for their jobs and go and take them. Now that the men on the Central had turned them down, they would take what they could.

And for this reason Parks wanted to put the Illinois Central men who were doing "actual picket duty" back to work. He knew again that he could not accomplish his purpose by agreeing to put back some 300 men of those who had left and gone to work elsewhere for fear this would not be satisfactory with those who were on the picket lines. Possibly it was the picket lines that Mr. Parks wanted to break up at that particular time; he may have come to the conclusion that it was cheaper to have those who were on picket duty in the shops working for the railroad than outside the yards working against its interest.

There are still men who went on strike on the Harriman Lines, and many well-meaning union men all over the country, who knew nothing of these proceedings where International Presidents were made the tools of railroad managers for the purpose of making a break in the ranks. These men, who declared on the 30th day of September, 1911, that they would stand together, win or lose, and never desert either each other or those principles which the very distinguished gentleman, President M. F. Ryan, of the Carmen, swore allegiance to so vociferously in that historic oration before the Machinists' convention on September 26, 1911, in the quaint old Indian city of Davenport, Iowa.

THE GRAND LODGE INJUNCTION

You have heard a little about the "STRIKE BULLETIN," and I am going to let you meet her. She will be even more prominent than Jack Buckalew, Geo. Preston, Pete Conlon, or J. F. McCreery have been in what you have already gone over. Jack Buckalew, who, you will remember in his letter to G. C. Martyn, of December 30, 1912, claimed to be the father of the Federation in this country, and who wrote the constitution of the Federation of Federations that was adopted at the Kansas City convention in 1912, was also the father of the strike bulletin until I had to divorce him for non-support and cruelty.

When the District War Cabinet came to Clinton in July, 1912, and it was decided to go to war, the strike bulletin came into existence. While she was a baby we called her "Brass Tacks," and it was not until she could get up and kick around that we started to call her the "strike bulletin." Jack left his kid with me to nurse as it was growing up, for you see "father" had to go to war, and the cruel world out in the trenches didn't give father very much time to come home and see the kid. The result was that she became more attached to me than to father. Pete Conlon, the gentleman from Washington, as you will remember, heard about "Brass Tacks" when she was cutting her teeth, and while father knew all about it, our friend Pete thought the midnight hours would be too long for me walking the floor with the kid, and being an old friend of the family, he used his influence with Colonel Johnston and persuaded him to let father take a furlough to come home and see his nice little baby, "Brass Tacks."

When father came, the kid didn't know him, and the more father tried to make "Brass Tacks" believe that he was her real father, the worse the situation got, and as I could best get along with the kid, father was told to go back in the trenches. Instead of doing this, he went and told his troubles

to Pete Conlon, and they applied to Judge Johnston for a divorce and for the court order to take "Brass Tacks" away from me, who had rocked her in the cradle from her infancy until now, when she could be of some help around the rebel camp. The court order came, and "Brass Tacks" started to strike at them all, and she struck so successfully that from that time on we called her the "strike bulletin."

After they found out that the "strike bulletin" wouldn't have anything to do with them, they started out to kidnap her. Failing in that, then they blackmailed her; in the meantime she grew up and was strong enough to agitate all the members of the fashionable court. To best give you an idea of how she made these fellows in shoulder straps sit up nights and cry over Jack Buckalew's wayward child, we will put all the members of the supreme court on the stand that you may get the story direct from them. I here take pleasure in introducing you to the honorable court:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 25, 1913.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: For several months we have been maintaining several bulletins issued at various points in the strike zone, and as a consequence of this we have from time to time been asked to take some steps to consolidate these bulletins and have them issued under joint authorization.

At the present time these bulletins are being issued without being censored in any particular, and as a result many articles have appeared that have a tendency to compromise us if ever used against us in a court of law.

In order that our members may have a complete medium of correspondence in the hands of a competent editor whose business training in that line insures us against unjust criticism, we have decided to discontinue all bulletins now being issued on behalf of the Federation strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, and to authorize the *Liberator*, published at Sedalia, Mo., and edited by E. H. Behrens, as the official strike bulletin of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, and we hereby direct our constituents to appoint a strike correspondent at their respective points to furnish Mr. Behrens with news of this strike and any other matter of importance relative to the strike. We also request the discontinuance for the future of all so-called strike bulletins in the name of the Federated Trades now on strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines.

We take this action in the best interest of our constituents now on strike, and hope that it meets with the hearty approval of those whom we have the honor to represent.

The International organizations represented in this strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines are financially contributing to the support of the *Liberator* and have arranged to furnish points on strike with as many copies as they may have use for.

Fraternally yours,

WM. H. JOHNSTON, International President Machinists.

J. A. FRANKLIN, President Boilermakers.

J. W. KLINE, International President Blacksmiths.

M. F. RYAN, International President Carmen.

M. O'SULLIVAN, International President Sheet Metal Workers.

As soon as I received a copy of this injunction against the Strike Bulletin, I decided to help the boys along a little and give their injunction some real publicity; therefore we give it space in the next week's issue of the Strike Bulletin, and as soon as this issue of the paper was out the following telegram was received:

TELEGRAM

ESBX 12

CHICAGO, ILL., Jan. 31, 1918.

CARL E. PERSON,

Room 6, Feudensten Bldg.,
Clinton, Ill.

Where did you get letter with my signature appearing in bulletin?
Wire.

J. W. KLINE,
International President.
114 P

After the receipt of this telegram the following letter was received from Mr. Kline of the Blacksmiths, which speaks for itself:

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS AND HELPERS

CHICAGO, ILL., Jan. 31, 1918.

MR. CARL PERSON,

Box No. 32,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: In looking over your bulletin No. 5, dated January 31, the last page you published a letter signed by the general officers. Permit me to say that the signing of my name on that letter is unauthorized. I refuse to be drawn into any of the International squabbles of another craft. The *Liberator* has been agreed upon as the official bulletin, and so far as I am concerned I have no objections to any other bulletin as long as they are issued in the interest of the strikers and along legitimate lines.

I wired you today as follows: "Where did you get letter with my signature appearing in bulletin? Wire."

Enclosed please find communications bearing on this subject. You will note the date of the letter sent to me is January 22. It was received here the evening of the 23rd and I answered on the 24th, and the letter of the bulletin is dated the 25th. That is going some. I am not in sympathy with the letter.

We are going to have a meeting of the Executive Council next Tuesday morning at the St. James Hotel, St. Louis, and I will then possibly be able to find out the reason why my name was used.

Yours fraternally,

J. W. KLINE,
General President I. B. of B. & H.

Of course I had known what was coming. When Buckalew returned from Washington the plans were laid to put the Strike Bulletin out of business, and Johnston of the Machinists was taking the proposition up with the other International Presidents. He had requested them to authorize the injunction against the paper published by the Illinois Central strikers. Buckalew told his story among his friends, with many smiles, so I was aware that something would drop. I thought it would drop before January 25th, but, as usual, it took them a month to turn around and perform a little job that a couple of the kids in the alley could do in an hour. This was one of the reasons why McCreery fell down on the job. Buckalew had assured him that all the Grand Lodge officers were to federate against the strikers and their publication. Of course, he felt sure that they would accomplish their purpose in a couple of days.

They were going to support the *Liberator* in Sedalia, Mo. At this time the strike had run for fourteen months, and they had not donated a dollar to the *Liberator*. This was diplomacy and Jack Buckalew's fertile brain hatched it out in the Washington caucus, when Messrs. Johnston, Conlon and Buckalew were throwing the mahogany at each other about four o'clock in the morning. The proposition was one that would appeal to the crowd, for they could say that one paper was sufficient and that the Grand Lodge officers were justified in cutting out any other. Such would be true, if the strikers controlled the *Liberator* or the paper was controlled by those that could not

be harnessed. Should the *Liberator* come out, as had the *Strike Bulletin*, and go after the Grand Lodge officers, "the real strike breakers in this case," how long would the *Liberator* have received their financial support? It was necessary to go after them to keep the strike alive.

There was still another angle, and that was, just as soon as they could have put the *Strike Bulletin* out of commission, then the financial support from the Grand Lodge officers would have been withdrawn from the *Liberator*. This was well understood, and the *Liberator* was only endorsed and authorized by them for the purpose of putting the strikers' paper out of commission. This was very plain, and therefore their injunction was served against the *Strike Bulletin* in every lodge affiliated with the Federation of Federations. Of course, the worthy brothers, who had never been fortunate enough to be hit in the head with a sledge hammer to get circulation in their brains, could not see it at that time, along with many other things that they were blind to.

After finding out that they went after our man G. C. Martyn in Atlanta, I knew that they would do anything to stop the *Strike Bulletin*, for they feared that most of all, and while I did not have very much sense I realized that the *Strike Bulletin* was our strongest weapon and with it we could drive them all in their holes at times. This is just what we did at frequent intervals.

Mr. J. W. Kline protested against the use of his name and said that this injunction was not authorized by him. If this was a fact, then Mr. Johnston, President of the Machinists, committed forgery in order to accomplish his purpose of putting the strikers' paper out of business. For, as you will remember, the strikers published the paper through their Federation office, as they were instructed to do by the Advisory Board, when they elected me as their Secretary, to publish a paper in newspaper form was their instructions. I carried out as many of their instructions as I could, regardless of all and any opposition from the Grand Lodge officers, the rail-

roads or the courts. I was only mindful of one thing, and that was that I was instructed to publish a paper for the men on strike and determined that this I would do in the face of any and all consequences. This was the proper and decent thing to do.

We were now getting into a position where we could advertise the strike and take an occasional ram at the "Strike Breakers" who were running around the country under the name of Labor Leaders, for the purpose of disrupting the efforts the men were putting up for federation. This publicity appeared to injure some of the Grand Lodge officers in prosecuting their campaign of making the strike a dead issue, and therefore they were going to put the *Strike Bulletin* out of business that they could continue their work unhampered. But again they woke up late. The publication had got on its feet, and was now big enough to stand up against the federated effort of the International organizations. With all their payroll serfs, barking business agents and representatives from all over the country, in their combined efforts to put the publication out of business, we were able to make them like it. This, however, indicated that they were a helpless aggregation.

Here was a little grass-town weekly publication, published by the strikers, and the Grand Lodge could not put it out of business, much as they desired to. Imagine how helpless they would have been should they have undertaken to pick a fight with someone who had brains and money like Mr. Markham and Mr. Kruttschnitt. This is possibly the reason that they never started to put up a fight against the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, because they knew best the weakness of themselves but at the same time overestimated their own weakness to such an extent that they thought they could put the "strikers' paper" out of business.

To their serfs they hung up the excuse that the *Strike Bulletin* would compromise them in a court of law. How is this for labor leaders? What business has a man in the labor movement hanging onto it as a commissioned officer? If he is

afraid of being brought into the courts and like some of the folks in the parade of the rank and file, occasionally take his six months on crackers and stale beans in the village hold-overs. They are as much out of place as a round house foreman in a Sunday school, and for them it is as impossible to lead the labor movement forward as it is for a master mechanic to tour the shop and not find someone that he thinks is "laying down on the job."

Men like Mr. C. H. Markham, Mr. Parks of the Illinois Central and Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt can be admired compared to such labor leaders, for they had made up their minds from the first that they were going to fight and they stuck with their decisions. The Grand Lodge officers pledged themselves to fight for and with the men, and with this pledged their last dollar. Some of them started to desert the strikers as soon as they found out that the donations they were soliciting for the "war babies" and put in their own treasuries were not equivalent to the price of the show. Therefore, as soon as the strike became a burden on their financial resources, it was not only given the cold shoulder but they started to put it out of existence as well.

They played their part as shamefully to the men whom they advised to go on strike as the old settler's son, who persuaded his father to sell the old homestead and give him the receipt, that he could go to college. After the boy had been polished, he and the old man were to reside in the city. But when the old man came, feeble, shaky and gray, and knocked on the door which carried in gold letters the name of his son, he was told that he had to go back to the mountains, for his gay painted wife would not make a home for him on the "drive." So the old man, shaky and gray, bent with the struggles of age, was deserted and disowned by the polished product of himself and doomed to the corner of the county poor house and six feet in potter's field, where a little wooden cross marked his last resting place, with the unvarnished inscription, "Here sleeps Simon Jonathan Jones, a victim of misplaced confi-

dence, deserted by one he had loved and cared for in childhood and youth." So, too, with some of the Grand Lodge officers. The strikers had confidence enough in them to mortgage their cottages and sell their little homesteads that Labor might be polished and made a better and brighter institution. The strikers were given the same shameful reception, when age and the struggles of time had wrinkled and faded their efforts. They, too, like poor old Simon Jonathan Jones, were told to go back to the mountains, that these Grand Lodge officers might continue unhampered in their *drama of the harlot's dance*.

This is the period of the strike when the Federation Advisory Board was called into session at the New St. James Hotel, in St. Louis, to consider Mr. W. H. Johnston's proposition of calling the Illinois Central strike off for 300 jobs. It can be understood that frequent conferences between the Illinois Central officials and Grand Lodge officers were taking place. I assume that it was decided in one of these conferences that the Illinois Central would start legal proceedings against the *Strike Bulletin*; at any rate, this happened. The Grand Lodge officers were unable to make their injunction issued in their circular letter against the *Strike Bulletin* to all lodges throughout the country effective, therefore the Illinois Central came to their assistance by causing several federal indictments to be issued against myself for shaking up the furnace and throwing a little publicity on the situation. What seemed to be more dangerous, we gave everybody or anybody who had a song to sing an opportunity to sing it through the columns of the paper, or, in fact, instituted a free and uncensored press; made the paper an unmuzzled publication, the very thing that labor leaders had been crying for, the hammer that they go after the metropolitan press with.

But in this case there was an opportunity for someone to turn the searchlights on the officers themselves when they did not dance to the music, so an unmuzzled press was not at all popular. We were again served with injunctions from both

the office of the Illinois Central and from the Grand Lodge officers, upon the doors of which is written in gold letters the names of the sons of Simon Jonathan Jones. This will pretty well establish how well the Federation was liked on both sides of the issue.

The Illinois Central also found out that their indictments proved to be ineffective, for when they were served it only made the fight more interesting and reminded me of the fact that it was time to take a new chew of tobacco and slip a little more fuel into the furnace that fed the steam pipes of action. Mr. Charles Markham of the Illinois Central played a rather small trick if he caused these federal indictments to be issued upon the request of the chiefs, for he should have told them that it was they who had started these troubled waters to boiling, and that they were too yellow to carry out their threats, that their place was out in the boiling waters, assisting those that were testing their system, instead of crawling around his general offices, making apologies like little children who had dumped the teapot over on the parlor carpet. But Charley Markham threw an occasional smile at them, as the kitchen maid does to the milkman, when he should have run them out and told them to go to work and assist those who were working hard on the job they had themselves started. But big men of decision and determination also have their occasional days off.

In handling a railroad strike, advertising is the strongest weapon. The railroads knew that, and therefore they spared no money in advertising. Mr. Markham in his testimony before the Commission on Industrial Relations verifies this statement, "I picked out all the large papers on his lines and carried the company's side of the strike question." But there is no record any place of the Grand Lodge officers instituting a publicity campaign, in getting their side of the issue before the public or the rank and file of the labor movement.

In their journals there was very little space devoted to the strike. In the *Machinists' Journal*, Mr. Arthur A. Holder was reviewing the strikes since 1877, but said nothing about

the strike in progress. The other journals did not give it much more attention. The *Strike Bulletin*, in its several "grave-yard editions," gave the strike its most effective publicity. The wrecks that were taking place were played up, and the information was both conspicuous and effective to the labor movement and to the general public. Here was a paper published by the men on strike, through the very Federation that was organized at Memphis in 1911. Why did it not get the support of the general Presidents? Did they, by fighting, the men and their efforts, establish themselves as against them? They would not do anything themselves, and, further, they would not let anyone else do it for the men on strike.

At many meetings of the International Presidents, the *Strike Bulletin* was the paramount issue. When a subject came up for discussion and its execution contemplated, the question of "What will the *Strike Bulletin* say?" was given full consideration. They knew well that when they had anything shady to pull off the *Strike Bulletin* would do something, and those who contributed the weekly reports from the strike zone would say a whole lot.

I was now face to face with this situation of organized opposition, deserted by the Machinists' district, who should have stood by me if anyone should; deserted, too, by Jack Buckalew and President McCreery of the Federation. Both these men, if they had any sand whatever, should have stayed and put up a fight against those that they had accused of wrecking the movement. Here was Jack Buckalew, who said in his letter dated in Chicago, Sept. 17, 1912, "*That if the Grand Lodge had any idea that we could run this strike on four or six dollars per week, they might as well get that out of their heads right now,*" and instructed circulars to be sent to the lodges of the Machinists. When the operation was to be performed, of taking the idea out of their heads, Jack Buckalew was not there, as I have already proven to your satisfaction, and the only support that remained to assist with this operation was Mr. J. J. Meagher and President L. M. Hawver

of the Machinists' district. The rest of them when most needed scattered like a pack of coyotes at the dawn of day.

WHARTON AND SCOTT AS NEW DISCIPLES

A lecture tour was arranged from the Federation office, in which J. J. Meagher, a striking machinist from Clinton, played the part of the barking beauty. There was no one in the movement that knew the situation any better than Meagher, and none that could tell it any better, were he assigned to play at a boilermakers' stag, or before the spot-lights of an opera house audience. Mr. Meagher could champion the cause of the men on strike and its effect in the future upon the organized labor movement with the same skill and sledge-hammer emotions that Mr. M. F. Ryan of the Carmen did before the Machinists' Convention in Davenport.

The difference between Mr. Meagher and Mr. Ryan was that Meagher played his part after the strike, and Ryan before. So that you will understand something was accomplished in face of all this organized opposition, and that such accomplishments met with the favorable mention of men like A. O. Wharton, President of the Federation of Federations, I shall place Mr. Wharton on the stand:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS DISTRICT NO. 5

St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 24, 1913.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Replying to your favor of the 22nd inst., will say that any arrangements made between yourself and Brother Behrens in regard to distributing the strike news to the men and the public that will be an improvement over the manner in which the information has been going out, will most certainly be acceptable to the undersigned. I want to see things done in a manner that will get the best results for our people, and at the least possible cost.

I have read your letter carefully, Carl, and want to say that I have no fight to make against the active men in the labor movement; we need fighters—good, clean-cut, fearless men—men who will go to the front and do things. No movement in the world needs such men more than the labor movement. I know something of the conditions

that lead up to the present strained relations between certain people. But the one thing I have always tried to keep down is the fighting among ourselves, before the public. We are always going to have our difference. It is inherent and particularly so in the labor movement. But at heart I presume all honest trades unionists are striving in their own way to bring about the desired conditions. I don't like the way some of them go about it, and I don't hesitate to tell them so personally, and will not hesitate to try and put men in office whom I believe are best fitted to carry on the work in which we are engaged.

But we want to win these strikes. We can't do it by talking about what ought to be done. I don't like the way things have went on, and there is going to be a change for the better or I will refuse to be a party to the manner of proceeding—at least to the extent of resigning from the Railroad Department and then going about doing something that will force the luke-warm fellows to do the right thing. I am of the opinion that I can do more as a man in the rank and file than as an officer. Unless I have the support of the men in charge of their respective organization, I am not the "FATHER" of the federated movement, but have been one of the men who has had a good deal to do with its development to its present stage, and don't propose to see it killed in its infancy.

These strikes can be won, and it is up to all of us to do the things that are necessary to bring about that result. I have tried to do my part and am still trying and will continue to stand up for the men who "DO THINGS," but I don't want to do anything that will get the forces of labor fighting one another. I know that the rank and file want to do what is right and they will do the right thing if they are reached in the right way.

I was called everything under the sun, some months since, because I told the men some plain truths, but the chicken is coming home to "roost" and I presume that some of those who thoughtlessly handed me the unjust criticism are now realizing that they made a big mistake. Had I got the proper encouragement from the men at that time, I might have been able to accomplish what I had in mind. My ideas are partly in effect on the I. C. I don't claim any honor for having had anything to do with this fact, but I am essentially a fighter, not very strong on diplomacy, and guess I have made a lot of enemies, but that doesn't stop me from doing or advocating what is right. But back of it all, Carl, we have the lack of understanding on the part of the rank and file. There is a world of educational work to do and I want to try and get the members started along the right lines of thought. With the membership understanding our motives, I know that we can make great progress.

I received your post cards and will send them out.

Fraternally yours,

A. O. WHARTON.

Mr. Wharton's testimony shows that he was of the opinion that the strikes could be won, but that he recognized the fact that some real work had to be done. He further states in the last paragraph of his letter "That his ideas are partly in effect in the Illinois Central"; of course, this vindicates me up to

this time. The fight we had put up as a federation met with Mr. Wharton's approval; it is possible that inasmuch as Mr. Wharton states "partly in effect" that as yet we had not gone far enough, and therefore in order to establish the other portion of Mr. Wharton's ideas in the handling of the strike it was necessary to continue more effectively along the same lines in which we were started, and as Mr. Buckalew had at one time stated, take the ideas out of the Grand Lodge officers' heads that they could continue to confiscate the funds of the "war babies."

It was more than encouraging to get a letter like this from Mr. Wharton at this time, because it was some assurance that we were right, and the old saying is that if you are right go up against anything, from constitutional fences to the gentleman in shoulder straps. This was our policy.

It will be well to remember that Mr. Wharton was President of the Railway Department and knew that I stood expelled as Secretary of the Machinists' district; knew that the Grand Lodge officers had issued an injunction against the *Strike Bulletin*, and that Jack Buckalew was writing his resignation with tears in his eyes. He knew that we had put McCreery, President of the Federation, on the shelf in Paducah. He knew that we had informed the Grand Lodge officers what they were doing on the systems. And knew that Johnston and Conlon in Washington were broken-hearted and nervous wrecks over having their dog shaken up, and that the situation went from bad to worse for them, after they disconnected the tail at Clinton. And he also knew that George Preston at Washington had already arranged to write the history of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes, under the caption, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," which was later published in the *Machinists' Journal* for 1915. And last, but not least, he appreciated the fact that it was necessary to take the kid gloves off in going after all these gentlemen, and congratulated me for doing this. Therefore, up to this time, regardless of what you have read, I have a

decision of "not guilty" from Mr. Wharton insofar as laying down on the job and hiding from the shoulder straps.

I also wish to introduce you to Mr. John Scott, Secretary of the Railway Department, who came in on the stand with his testimony about one month after Mr. Wharton's appearance. Mr. Scott was Secretary of the Harriman Lines Federation until the convention in April, 1912, at St. Louis, when he was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Railway Department. Mr. Scott makes the following testimony:

ST. LOUIS, MO., March 21, 1913.

MR. C. E. PERSON,
Box No. 32, Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Yes, I desire to thank you for the envelopes which I received all right. I thought I had mentioned them in my letter. I have also written to Collings in Oakland to know if he received them. I also received the consignment of stickers and distributed them to 27 other points not included on your mailing list. I guess the country will be pretty well plastered and should have a telling effect on the situation.

You gave Buck a heavy jolt, and I consider it was an able retort to the underhand methods he had used in seeking to discredit you thru the Journal, and I consider that after the matter has been given an airing from both sides, your position will be fully justified. This, I take, is the view now taken by Brother Johnston, who was made acquainted with some few things I understand, when here in St. Louis, and I casually overheard him say that there were circumstances he had been made aware of which materially altered the case.

Well, Carl, I appreciate much your kind invitation to visit the "sticks" for a day. The expression is a new one on me, as I am not yet acquainted with the "sticks" part of it, but, however, I will be pleased to take a run down some time after I get matters somewhat settled.

I took up the matter giving publicity to the strike bulletins, thru the *Federationist* and other papers within the control of the A. F. of L., and have just heard from the Secretary that President Gompers has been sick for the past three weeks and is just now able to be around, and this matter will be brought to his special attention.

I did not receive many reports from the Harriman Lines this week. I presume you get the reports from Portland, Oakland, Los Angeles and Ogden. They are quite lengthy and I did not take the time to copy them before sending to the *Liberator*.

I have taken up the matter with the International President as to securing a list of strike benefits that are being sent to members at various points on the Harriman Lines which has been dead ones for some time, insofar as not sending in any reports. It is my intention to take this matter up with these people and see if some results can be had. I believe that the situation justifies better that we have one good man on the job with sufficient benefits to live on and look after the interests of the strike, than a dozen non-active members sharing an equal div. of the money.

WHARTON AND SCOTT NEW DISCIPLES 193

Well, I guess I will have to ring off for the present. With kindest regards and well wishes, I am,

Faternally yours,

JOHN SCOTT,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Mr. Scott as Secretary of the Railway Department seemed to rather appreciate one of the jolts in the *Strike Bulletin*. It was one that advised Jack Buckalew to watch his step, for as he was not a federationist, and not willing to fight the strike in compliance with federated law, he would have to stand the consequences and face the music. As Scott states, Buckalew had been playing the game underhandedly. His trip to Washington and Paducah will substantiate this. Further, Mr. Scott even thinks so much of the *Strike Bulletin*, with its already stormy career, that he is going to have Mr. Gompers of the A. F. of L. advertise it as a paper that should be read by the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and this after six or seven International Presidents, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor had issued injunctions against the paper, warning its membership that it was dangerous for them to read and they were taking chances on going to jail because of its existence. Mr. John Scott, who had been on strike at San Luis Obispo, Cal., knew what the game was and knew the necessity of someone swinging a sword in the face of the polished shoulder straps that were not doing anything, and hence Mr. Scott's testimony.

Mr. Scott again came in with a letter which speaks for itself and indicates that this paper, which the Grand Lodge officers served an injunction on, is serving a useful purpose in the interest of the strike. Mr. Scott further states:

April 11, 1913.

MR. C. E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: I take this opportunity to express my high appreciation of the able and vigorous effort you are putting forth in the valiant struggle that is being waged for right and justice at the hands of the arrogant railroad officials.

Nothing in my mind can be more effective in reaching the vulnerable

vitals of these blood-sucking corporations than by awakening the public to the damnable outrages that are being perpetrated upon them, day after day and month after month, in order to satiate the unquenchable lust for greed.

The officials of the railway department, the inestimable good that will result from the wide circulation of the "graveyard edition" of the Bulletin, and are desirous to co-operate in any way possible that will insure its unbounded success, with the approval of President Wharton, who is heart and soul with you in the forward movement and a strong advocate of effective measures when occasion demands; I am placing an order with you for one thousand copies of the "graveyard edition," which the department will distribute to the best advantage among the business interests in St. Louis, believing that in no way can we better serve the best interests of men who are daily fighting for their rights than appeal to those that are daily courting death and disaster and sooner or later will be numbered with the victims who have gone before.

It is my belief that the graveyard edition will create a new epoch in the history of our strike and arouse a nation-wide indignation when confronted with the indisputable proof of the sacrifice of the human lives and limb that is daily being exacted to maintain their present policy.

It is to be hoped that our members will do everything possible in securing subscriptions for this valuable paper to the end that it will reach every home in the city, town and hamlet. If the railway department are in a position to do so, several thousand additional copies will be procured for distribution at live points along the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. The desire being to enlighten the public to the fullest extent with the actual conditions as they now exist. I take it that our own members do not require education along these lines.

Broher Wharton suggested that a circular letter be issued to all important lodges of all organizations, that which touch the strike zone or whom we think would be interested, asking them to contribute to the circulation and the success of the paper by the purchase of 250 copies. I presume that you have already received a number of applications from such places and it would be unwise to further impose on them. But if you consider that the issuance of a circular letter would in anywise assist the department would be more than pleased to co-operate to the direction. Kindly advise if you would be in a position to print this letter gratis.

Trusting to hear from you at your early convenience, and with kindest regards and well wishes,

Faternally yours,

JOHN SCOTT,
Secretary-Treasurer Railway Department.

It looks as if the biggest men in the movement had come to the realization that the strikers themselves were doing something for themselves, that the Grand Lodge officers had failed to do or couldn't do. After fighting the Grand Lodge officers and driving them into their holes, here were people who knew the situation and admitted that in the face of all the organ-

ized opposition we have been confronted with, we were accomplishing more than all the Grand Lodge officers together had accomplished since the inauguration of the strike. Then were the Grand Lodge officers that fought us September, October, November and December of 1912 wrong? It looks like it, for if we were trying to do something to make the strike successful and effective, when they couldn't or wouldn't do it, they should at least have let us alone, and then we could have accomplished so much more.

Mr. A. O. Wharton, President of the Railway Department, writes the following letter on May 1, 1913, which is very interesting, inasmuch as he also threatens the Grand Lodge officers. The letter will best speak for itself and reads as follows:

ST. LOUIS, Mo., May 1, 1913.

Friend Person: I have this date written Johnston a good letter, in which I have asked that one thousand (\$1,000.00) be sent to you and the same amount to Brother J. D. Taylor, on the S. P., each month from the donations received by the Grand Lodge. I believe he will see the justice of our claim, and if he does not, I shall feel at liberty to advise every lodge in district five, Mo. Pacific, to split all donations between you and Brother Taylor. I MEAN BUSINESS. I am asking that this one thousand dollars be sent with the understanding that it be used in the interest of the strike, and this don't mean that it shall be confined to members of the I. A. of M.

Trusting that this will be satisfactory, I am,

With best wishes,

A. O. WHARTON,
President R. E. D.

Mr. Wharton was now a federationist (?) and had decided that if it were necessary to violate the constitution he would do so in the interests of the strike. Mr. Wharton wanted the strike funds used in the best interests of the strike, where results could be attained from the money invested, and had now decided that he would do what I started in to do in July, 1912, that is, fight the Grand Lodge if necessary. I may state that I was suspended as District Secretary of the Machinists for attempting to persuade local lodges to send their money direct to the district, and now Mr. Wharton, with full

knowledge that it was a violation of the constitution, has decided to do the same. He was going to instruct or persuade the lodges on the Missouri Pacific System to send their donations to the Machinist districts on strike. After I decided that such was necessary in order to keep the strike alive, I found that I had done so in face of all and any constitutional fences and organized opposition. One would naturally assume that Mr. Wharton would do the same and that he would declare war on Washington and President Johnston at this particular time.

WHARTON DECLARES WAR ON JOHNSTON

On May 5, 1912, a small convention of Illinois Central strikers took place at Springfield, Ill., and the entire strike situation was carefully looked over. After this conference, the following petition was drafted and forwarded to the International Presidents of all organizations, and reads as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., 5-15-13.

To the International Presidents, Comprising the Organizations Now on Strike on the I. C. and Harriman Lines—Greeting.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: We, the undersigned, after having almost nineteen months of strike experience on the above mentioned lines, have learned by said experience that concentration of effort is and has been lacking ever since the inception of our strike.

We have learned that where we have established federation that we have obtained the best results, viz.: Clinton, Ill., notwithstanding the fact that we of opposition, offered by those who believed a strike could be successfully handled by directing same from nine different angles.

We hereby petition the International Association of Machinists for the amount of (\$2,000) two thousand dollars per month, the same to be equally divided between the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines Federation. Other organizations involved in strike to pay an equal amount pro rata according to the number of men who went on strike in September, 1911.

Trusting this will meet with your favorable consideration, we remain,

Fraternally yours,
L. M. HAWVER, Jr., President.
J. J. MEAGHER, Machinist.
S. B. GLENN, Machinist.
P. J. JENSEN, Advisory Board District No. 21.
C. J. CUNDIFF, Boilermakers.
JOS. J. THOMAS, Carmen.
H. J. MOLLOY, Business Agt., Dist. 21, I. A. of M.

There is a particular gentleman on this petition committee that I wish to call your attention to, Business Agent H. J. Molloy. He is the gentleman who came to Clinton in July, 1912, with Buckalew and the district in Buckalew's little satchel, looking for someone to liven it up, and when the storm came up, Mr. Molloy went along with President Johnston instead of getting into the fight; however, you will note that again he has signed a federated petition. He will appear again in the near future.

This Springfield conference was another effort to drive the Grand Lodge Presidents together in the interest of the strike. However, the effort was unsuccessful, as there was no co-operation that arrived in the interest of the strike from the Grand Lodge Presidents. This petition further states that the results they are getting at this time they are getting through the Federation at Clinton—the very Federation the Grand Lodge Presidents had made an effort to put out of commission.

The only answer to the above petition is the following letter from President A. O. Wharton of the Railway Department, which is addressed to Mr. J. J. Meagher, who was one of the signers of the petition at Springfield, Ill., and reads as follows:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
DISTRICT NO. 5

ST. LOUIS, Mo., May 16, 1913.

MR. J. J. MEAGHER,
Box D, Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: This is to acknowledge receipt of your favor dated the 15th inst., in which you enclose a letter addressed to the International Presidents of the organizations involved in the strike on the Harriman Line and I. C. I presume you are aware of the action I took in regard to the Machinists, having taken the question of financing the strike up with Brother Johnston, and having received his assurance that it was the intention of the I. A. of M. to send money raised by donations to the extent of at least \$1,000 each to the Harriman and I. C. Lines, and about the only suggestions that I could make would be for your committee to state that the Machinist organizations have agreed to send the above amounts and call upon the others for a proportionate amount.

I think that it would have a better effect and show the other International officers that at least one organization was willing to do its part.

Brother Person can enlighten you in regard to this matter. Trusting that this will be satisfactory, I am, with best wishes,

Faternally yours,

A. O. WHARTON,
President R. E. D.

Mr. Wharton, President of the Railway Department, as can be understood, fully approved of the petition drafted by the Springfield conference of strikers and refers to his letter to me of May 1, 1913, in which he was going to persuade local lodges to forward the money direct to the men on strike, and as it was now the 16th of the month it was to be expected that the wires were burning up between St. Louis and Washington, and Mr. Conlon of the Machinists had found that his dog was again being shaken up. Mr. Wharton, realizing the necessity of putting up a fight, would not allow the shoulder straps on President Johnston or the barks of Pete Conlon's hound to scare him, when, realizing as he did the importance of winning the strike and the necessity of sacrificing his position and membership, if necessary, to accomplish this.

During the month of March, 1913, President Wharton had a letter published in the *Strike Bulletin*, requesting that funds for the men on strike be sent to his office for distribution. To make our records complete, I am introducing the following letter, which will indicate that we stood ready at any time to turn the handling of the strike over to the Federation of Federations, the organization that should have taken full charge of the handling of the strikes shortly after the Federation was organized in April, 1912, at Kansas City. This letter reads as follows:

March 30, 1913.

MR. A. O. WHARTON,
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir and Brother: I am in receipt of several inquiries relative to your recent letter in the Bulletin, where you instructed all money to be sent to Brother Scott for the Railroad Department.

This would cut off our avenue of income if your instructions would be adhered to, wouldn't it?

JUST NOW WE HAVE the movement in good shape on the Central and we are getting it concentrated here; we can now show results for the money we have got, and our efforts as well. What I want to know is this: Is the Railway Department going to take our movement over? Willing to give it to them on stipulated terms.

Will you take our organization and carry it on, meet all our obligations, pay the pickets that we are paying, handle our slide exchange, route speakers, and keep the movement alive?

We have worked too hard to see what little we have accomplished waste away, and if anyone is going to take our place they will have to get up and do business and give results, **AND IF THEY WON'T DO THIS**, they will have to let us keep up the fight, and let us **SOLICIT FUNDS**. We won't do anything just now that would be a reaction to our movement, **FOR THERE IS TOO MUCH AT STAKE**, but if the Railway Department is in a position to do business and give results and will spend 40 per cent of the money on the Central, **VERY WELL**.

Let us know what the future demand of the Department is. When you stated that all money should be sent to Brother Scott, what was your plan on how the Illinois Central should be looked after?

If Collings of the Harriman Lines is soliciting funds, and we are doing the same, and then there is some money coming in to Scott, are we not entitled to the 40 per cent of the money going to Scott if it is to send for the interest of the strike? And on this basis will we get it?

Please tell me what the plans are, and what you want us to do, and what the department will do themselves.

WE WANT TO DO THE RIGHT THING, and we are going to be sure that we do this, **BUT** if anyone is going to take our place, they **WILL** have to give the movement the attention that we are giving it, and if they won't we are going to continue on the **JOB** and solicit funds and everything else in conjunction with it.

Up to this time we have told them that all money for the Harriman Lines should go to Brother Collings, and the Illinois Central money should go to this office, and now that you have told them that all of it should go to Scott has confused matters some, and I knew that it would when I run the letter.

A further explanation will have to be made in the Bulletin. However, I want to hear from you. If you people want all the money, then you will have to get up and meet all the obligations, and do **ALL THE WORK**, and if you want us to meet any obligations **YOU** will have to let us solicit money to meet them with. **YOU** will have to let us go out and get it if we can.

I hope that you will see where this will be nothing but fair. Just now I am paying a man in Dubuque, Fulton, Carbondale, Jackson, Miss., and Central City, Ky., and going to put a man in Indianapolis and Louisville.

The Grand Lodge officers, who you want it explicitly understood are doing the very best they can, are letting the movement die at every opportunity. Don't let anyone make you believe anything different, Wharton, for they are only flirting with you. Look over on the Harriman Lines.

Any time that you will show me that they are keeping one man or more at 30 places on the Harriman Lines, I will show **YOU** where they have let the movement die at 40 places over there. I have done a little

investigating lately, AND JUST NOW I KNOW some few things, and I refuse to believe their "BULL" but want to see results.

Just now we must know what results the Railway Department is going to give us here on the Central OR if they are not going to let us solicit funds to give results to the movement ourselves.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I am, yours for the same old cause,

Sincerely yours,

CARL E. PERSON.

The following is the reply from Mr. A. O. Wharton:

St. Louis, Mo., March 31, 1913.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: Replying to your favor dated the 30th inst., will say that I also thought that the letter sent out would cause some little misunderstanding. But it would have looked rather peculiar to send out a letter accepting money now sent to you and the Harriman Lines and maybe one or more local lodges that may be raising some money.

Now I will say just what I had in mind. Any money we could raise I intended to use what I could to advantage out of St. Louis. This would not be a great deal, then, to divide up the balance between the I. C. and Harriman Lines, in a manner that would get the best results. I didn't have in mind the sending of money to anyone indiscriminately. But to get it to the points where it would be used to the best advantage. I intended to get a list from you and also a list of the points where we needed men, and do all that I could to help keep men at these points, handling the money through your office for I. C. men.

I wanted a chance to get before the lodges that are not contributing a d— cent to these strikes, and I was also going to try and get a system established on the Harriman Lines. I appreciate all you say, and also know something of the conditions, and that is the reason I was trying to get funds, so that we could have something to offer to the good men. I don't want to interfere with the work you are doing in this strike; IT SUITS ME, and you have got it started and are in touch with the situation better than it would be possible for anyone else to be who was trying to handle the work in connection with the Department. Also, I AM STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF THE LOCAL ACTIVE MEN HANDLING THE STRIKE. I have always believed that the men directly interested would get better results. The only thing the G. L. should do is to see that the money was properly accounted for. ANY MONEY THE DEPARTMENT RAISES WILL BE USED IN THE INTEREST OF THE STRIKE AS A WHOLE, AND THE I. C. WILL GET ALL THAT IS COMING TO IT, IN PROPORTION TO RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED, NOT MEN SIMPLY DRAWING BENEFIT. I DON'T WANT ANY MONEY YOU ARE GETTING NOW, or can get, but want to get more than we have been getting.

Trusting that will prove satisfactory, I am, with best wishes,

Faternally yours,

A. O. WHARTON.

Mr. Wharton's letter substantiates the fact that we were getting results and had built up an organization that the Railway Department could take over at any time they would agree to keep it alive in accordance with federate law.

Mr. Wharton had studied the situation since his inauguration as President of the Railway Department. He was fully aware of all that had taken place. He knew that my motto was, "Handle the strike as a federation and fight everyone and everybody that opposes this principle of action, whether they come with titles from Washington or Kansas City, appear in dress suits or in rags." He knew that I was excommunicated by the "Mother Church" in Washington and that I stood out as bold and cruel as the very system itself that had forced this social drama into existence. He was fully aware of what my position had been in the past and what it would be in the future, that as far as I was concerned there would be no compromise with the railroad companies or the Grand Lodge officers of the principle for which we had gone on strike. In view of all these apparent and demonstrated facts, Mr. Wharton comes as President of the Railway Department and states that I was right. After he has had the opportunity to review the entire situation, he renders me this favorable decision. Of course, it was a pleasure to know that the supreme court that holds jurisdiction over all those organizations that are affiliated with the Railway Department had been broad-minded and fair-minded enough to render this decision in view of the fact that so many of his organizations and the lower courts in his jurisdiction had decided differently.

Mr. Wharton, however, reversed the decision of all of them. From now on he was going to stand with me, and, like Jack Buckalew and his war cabinet in the days of nineteen twelve, he was also going to start a resurrection for the money that the strikers had coming to them and needed in order to make the strike effective. Mr. Wharton was going to and did threaten Mr. Johnston of Washington by serving notice on him to play ball and play ball with Carl Person of Clinton. If Mr.

Johnston did not, Mr. Wharton would raise more smoke out of St. Louis in a few days than Jack Buckalew did with his entire war cabinet in the palmiest days of nineteen hundred and twelve.

Mr. Wharton had now come forth, like a "Billy Sunday" convert, from the sinful crowd of reaction, and here, now, then and there, declared himself to devote his time and effort in converting his comrades who were as yet blind to the vision that had come to him in his dreams. He was going into the cushioned courts of his colleagues to pray and persuade them to open their hearts and come forth that they also might be forgiven for their sinful acts of confiscating the property of the poor brethren in the trenches. If he could not by prayer, persuasion or other mediums of intellectuality induce them to lead a better and cleaner life in the future, Sister Wharton was going after them in good old-fashioned style, as Jack Buckalew, Molloy and McCreery had attempted to do.

There was nothing in Wharton's declaration that would indicate that his campaign would be hampered or fail to be executed if upon his journey he should by misfortune encounter the "street walkers" that picked the Sisters McCreery and Jack Buckalew for appropriate selections for the "show window." No, sir. Wharton had now parted with the sinful world and was going to devote his time in the future as a preacher for the common cause. He started out to do so, and as an introduction became the author of several pamphlets that were given wide circulation, one of which was distributed under the caption, "Mr. Business Man," in which he sets forth the reasons and the necessity for this social drama's being played by the common people, and introduces himself as being a staunch supporter of every plank in their platform. In some of his many other pamphlets he predicted that the labor movement would be wrecked and ruined and chewed up by the mad and restless swing of mother earth, like the gay, old-fashioned cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, if his associates in the Railway Department, who were drunk with power, would not stop and

take cognizance of the moving picture of this social crisis which was placed on exhibition on the cloud-hung curtains of time.

Mr. Wharton's letter is self-explanatory. He wanted the money used in the best interest of the strike. He had now recognized the fact that trying to handle a strike effectively by paying boilermakers' dollars to a boilermaker, and a machinist's dollar to a machinist, is but a game of child's play. This might be all right in a penny ante game, but not in a strike. That is, in reality, nothing but WAR, and a war where there is no justice but the justice that can be established by force—where no one can drink from the victor's cup but those who march under the Roman banner of "Might makes right."

Needless to mention, that the same soft lights that led Mr. McCreery and Mr. Buckalew into the promised land, also led Mr. Wharton astray. Soon there wasn't any more steam or decisiveness in Mr. Wharton's declaration of war than there was in an extemporaneous opening oration by Jack Buckalew to his war cabinet in the days absorbed by time. The Illinois Central Federation never got that one thousand per month out of the "war babies" funds at Washington that the Grand Lodge was confiscating. And Mr. Wharton never carried out his threats to direct Machinists' District 5 on the Missouri Pacific system to forward their assessment money direct to the Federation. Had he done so, he would have laid himself liable to expulsion from the mother church at Washington, for that would be in violation of Article 3, Section 7, subordinate lodge constitution, I. A. of M. When Johnston called his attention to this and pointed to the terminated career of Jack Buckalew as the penalty for having an idea, and the audacity of such a nice girl as Sister Wharton flirting with an excommunicated member of the mother church, who resided in the corn-belt, way outside of civilization; who didn't even have a dress suit for the occasion, should it be necessary to take a trip to "Park Row" for advice upon how to further proceed with the "unpleasantness."

Mr. Wharton was like the lad who, with his chums, had decided to spend the afternoon down on the river swimming, and declared that if his mother wouldn't let him go, that he was going anyway. When he told his mother that he and the boys were going down the river, mother said, "Nothing doing, little Willie," and Willie didn't go. Willie should have known his mother's attitude and his own weakness better before he promised the boys to go swimming, for he had lived with both himself and his mother long enough to know what he could and couldn't do. So, too, Wharton should have known that he couldn't do anything that didn't meet with the approval of President Johnston of the Machinists, and further, that he did not have sand enough to go out and stand by his own convictions, but had to remain in the play-yards near home, where Mother Johnston's apron strings would ever serve as his protection.

There is one thing that President Johnston can be admired for, and that is his ability to discipline the boys and make them go along with him, even taking one of his oldest scholars, like Mr. Wharton, and slip the shades over the visions that it was his desire to materialize, blind him to everything that was his own, then turn him loose and still control him with greater skill than the celebrated hypnotic operator, Dr. Flint, controlled his subjects in his performances upon the American stage. Mr. Wharton, like the rest of his associates, received a post of honor from Mr. Johnston which was the most distinguished and important ambassadorship of the entire cabinet—that of attorney-general for the prosecution in the famous trial that took place in the secret chambers at the Kansas City convention in 1916, when President Kline of the Blacksmiths was charged with high treason for bringing to the surface some of the methods employed by the "chiefs" in "trimming the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikers."

Wharton could only take one position and maintain his respectability after he had admitted that I was playing the only game that was worth while—the game in compliance

with federation—and that was to stand by his decision, carry out his threats against Johnston or any other President and organization that it was necessary to whip into line. He might have stood with me when I practically stood alone against the organized effort of five or six International organizations, as well as the spineless element that I had on my hands that was wished into the movement when it was organized in Memphis in May, 1911. Imagine standing up against this aggregation, with their money and hundreds of slippery, smiling, gum-shoe operators who barked at you from everywhere and surrounded you as a pack of hungry mountain wolves surround a lonely village pup. Then comes Mr. Wharton and admits that he has observed the situation, and threatens the pack to stand back in their mad rush, or else he (Wharton) would render assistance.

After he found out that the game was not as easy as it appeared to be and less popular, he, too, picked up his ammunition and ran for shelter like a chicken in the event of an approaching cyclone. And with such people are placed the dependence of the many thousands who march in the lines of the common cause. Upon their shoulders are placed the responsibility of leadership and the execution of such projects that have for their purpose the emancipation of the masses.

GENERAL STRIKE AGITATION

In June, 1913, the agitation for a general strike was revived again. The weekly correspondents for the *Strike Bulletin* made the general strike subject a live issue, and at many of the points on the struck roads it had become the desire of the men to have another general strike vote taken. On June 20, 1913, the Federation at Memphis, Tenn., wrote a letter to Mr. A. O. Wharton, President of the Railway Department, which was signed by Mr. J. A. Nortney as President and John Wray as Secretary for the Federation. The first paragraph of the letter read as follows:

We, the members of the I. C. Local Federation, have decided that although we failed to get the necessary percentage for a strike vote last year, the time has arrived when we should try it again. We have now been on strike for 20 months, and at this time fully convinced that another effort should be made to get a general strike vote.

Mr. A. O. Wharton, in answering the Memphis appeal for a general strike movement in a letter dated St. Louis, Mo., July 2, 1913, did not think that this was the appropriate time for such project; that the rank and file were not educated to the high standard necessary for such large undertaking.

The failure of the general strike to carry in 1912 was placed by Mr. Wharton upon the *ignorance* of the rank and file. The poor down-trodden, overloaded masses, upon their shoulders are placed all the wrecks and ruins of the ages. Anyone who had studied the situation knew that the general strike vote in 1912 was defeated by the Grand Lodge Presidents and their staff of gum-shoe operators. But now Mr. Wharton is hanging its corpse upon the backs of the common soldiers, that they may ever point to it as a monument of ignorance, when the fact of it is that this wreck should have been nailed to the altars of the *high courts of labor*, as a monument of *deceit, fraud and corruption*.

Mr. Wharton's letter did not satisfy the men in Memphis and in a letter to the Federation they expressed a desire that something be started along the line of a general strike movement. The Federation issued a letter to all points on strike, and asked them if it was their desire that a campaign for a general strike should be inaugurated, in which all replies were in favor of such an undertaking. In order to secure an expression from the locals affiliated with the Railway Departments, a circular letter was forwarded to all local lodges of all International organizations affiliated with the Railway Department, asking them to give us their opinion as to the advisability of a general strike vote being taken. Being fully mindful of the fact that although the desired results would not be accomplished, it would serve as a stimulant of agitation for the time being, for, in strikes, in order to keep up the interest, the

subject matter must be held up in front of those whom you wish to interest in one form or another. The failure to comply with this would have the same results to the movement as a circus without its barkers, as a department store without its display windows. There must be something there attractive enough to demand attention—something for people to either admire or ridicule—and therefore the general strike issue would serve this purpose at this time, and it served it well.

Some five thousand circular letters were sent out asking for the opinions of each particular lodge relative to the general strike, and in a week we had five thousand local lodges talking about the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike and the general strike issue. The question was debated by advocates on both sides of the issue, in the different locals, and the more it was talked about, for or against, the better it served the purpose of keeping up the interest, and brought information on the subject to those who had thought that the strike was a dead issue. Long-haired philosophers could be seen and heard intruding upon the fine art of Webster as they projected their arms into the atmosphere that was clouded from the fumes and gases that burned in the "Bull Durham" repositories as they hung from the lips of the comrades near. There was no Grand Lodge endorsement on our circular, and therefore all this commotion and motions to table, lay over until next meeting for action and for time to write to the Grand President for advice on the subject before the house.

Had we taken the matter up with the Grand Lodge and asked them for permission to ask these different lodges what their opinion was on the general strike issue, we would have either got "gas-piped" or arrested, and in addition it would not serve its purpose of giving it a debatable reception when it arrived, had it been endorsed and dressed up by all the silks and satins of authority. The motions to write to the high courts for information became so numerous that the Grand Lodges themselves had to issue a circular letter to their locals in which they announced that anyone who would come to the

sacred chambers of the "worthy brothers" and ask them for an opinion on a subject so delicate as a general strike was an illegitimate child and therefore not entitled to a decision from the sacred ones that met within the walls of the mystic shrine. On this subject the *Machinists' Journal* for September, 1913, page 920, under the caption of "Unauthorized Circulars," stated:

The circular issued by Carl E. Person of the I. C. Federation, with the object of taking a general strike vote, is unauthorized by our International President and General Executive Board and should therefore be ignored.

Mr. Johnston had at this time decided that the idea of federation was all wrong, and it was not to be expected that he would endorse anything sponsored by the Federation or the men on strike. The circular was, however, sponsored by the Memphis Federation, endorsed by the Local Federations at every point on the Illinois Central and all points on the Harri-man Lines, with which we were in communication at the time. Special requests came from such large terminal points as Los Angeles, Oakland, Portland, Salt Lake, Ogden, New Orleans, Memphis and Chicago, that this campaign for securing the expressions of the labor movement as to the general strike issue be launched, and launched as soon as possible. As soon as it was launched, the Grand Lodge steps in with their authority and tells their constituents that you must not answer the inquiry of those men who are on strike—they are such dangerous people, "don'tcha know." The Grand Lodges, of course, did not realize that by taking a position against the men on strike in this issue they again placed themselves on record as opposing the efforts of the men on strike, and assisted them unintentionally by giving the subject of the strike and the general strike issue a wider range of publicity, and the cause for more debates than would have been had they kept their feet out of a territory that we had a perfect right to trespass upon without their permission. We were not taking a general strike vote—simply asking the lodges if they would

or would not favor a general strike vote to be taken by the Grand Lodges in the future. A good many lodges gave the men on strike their opinions in view of the fact that the high court had issued injunctions against them prohibiting them from doing so.

Let us therefore give you a little authority on this, and so that you can appreciate how autocratic the Grand Lodge was, I wish to put an entire Machinists' Lodge on the witness stand.

Let me quote you a resolution from Machinists' Lodge No. 492, I. A. of M., located at Chicago, Ill., which can also be found on page 1164 of the *Machinists' Journal* for 1913:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS
WOODLAWN LODGE NO. 492

CHICAGO, ILL., Sept. 26, 1913.

TO THE INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Gentlemen: In the September issue of our *Journal*, under the head of "UNAUTHORIZED CIRCULARS," appears the following: "The circular issued by Carl E. Person of the I. C. Federation, with the object of taking a general strike vote, is unauthorized by our International President and General Executive Board and should therefore be ignored."

The members of Woodlawn Lodge No. 492 are desirous of knowing what right the International President and General Executive Board have to rule as they did in regards to this circular letter sent out by Bro. Carl E. Person, inasmuch as Bro. Carl E. Person was only asking for the expressions of the rank and file, in case the International President and General Executive Board sent out a referendum ballot asking for a general strike.

We believe in the democratic management of our association and not by a few of the individual employees that are receiving their salaries from the rank and file of the Association, and that the International President and the General Executive Board should endeavor to execute the will of the membership and not try to rule it with their autocracy and try to advance their own individual ideas.

Therefore, Woodlawn Lodge No. 492 thinks that the International President and the General Executive Board should be severely censured for the haste in trying to discourage the brothers that are still on the firing line of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines and Pere Marquette and those that are working on the other roads that are of the opinion that nothing but a general strike will bring the pending strikes to a successful termination, because it has been clearly shown that the International President and the General Executive Board have neglected to provide the necessary finances, by means of assessments or otherwise, to carry on the strike.

We insist that we have a right to get an expression of opinion, and any method which strangles an opportunity to do so must result in a great injury to our members in any struggle in which they may be engaged.

We are sending a copy of this letter to our International President and General Executive Board, the *Journal*, the *Strike Bulletin*, the *Liberator* and the *Unionist*.

Other locals that are of the same opinion, please take action.

O. WALTERS, President No. 492, I. A. of M.
 F. G. STEMLER, Recording Secretary.
 F. W. HACK, Com.
 R. D. FLETCHER, Com.
 JOHN EGERER, Com.

Now, what do you think of that?

The situation got so rotten that the lodges throughout the country had to protest against the situation. Who was working in the interest of the common cause—myself or the Grand Lodge officers?

The projections failed insofar as securing the expression from the locals affiliated with the Railway Department, but a large success insofar as attracting the attention of the labor movement to the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, which, of course, was the paramount issue, and the main reason back of the general strike subject, as we fully realized our inability at this time to jar anything like a general strike loose from the well-oiled machine that is known as the Railway Department.

A kind and affectionate letter was received from Mr. A. O. Wharton, President of the Railway Department, dated at St. Louis, Mo., July 2, 1913, in which the last paragraph reads as follows:

You are doing your full duty, educating those who will permit a new thought or sound reasoning facts to set them to thinking in the right channels. When we get to that stage of development, Carl, we won't have to be working day and night in an effort to get men to do the things they should; they will do them naturally and in the interest of all. With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

A. O. WHARTON,
 President R. E. D.

Mr. Wharton, as you see, came forth with his well wishes at times, even though the Grand Lodge President was tearing things loose in general and making it disagreeable for the home office help. It must have been a burden to the stenographers and bookkeepers every time anything happened on the struck lines, for there is no question but what the mahogany was moved about recklessly. Let us quote Mr. J. A. Franklin on this subject, in which he renders the following advice:

KANSAS CITY, KAN., Sept. 3, 1913.

MR. EDW. METHE, 10 Indiana Ave.,
Danville, Ill.

Replying to your favor of August 31, in reference to certain circulars issued by one Person at Clinton, Ill., will state that as far as I have any knowledge, Person issued the circulars without consultation or authority or sanction from any of the Internationals and was solely acting upon his own initiative, and as far as advice in regards to the advisability of a general strike, I would suggest that you take this matter up with President Johnston of your organization.

Yours, fraternally,

J. A. FRANKLIN,
International President Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders & Helpers.

Mr. Franklin felt sure that no International organization would give me such authority. But far be it from Mr. Franklin to go beyond his established jurisdictional lines and render his decision to a machinist, for he who gives information or enlightenment to a machinist must be a machinist himself; therefore, Mr. Methe was wished on to Mr. Johnston. Imagine a striking carman, surrounded and being beaten up by a half dozen strikebreakers in Chicago, Ill., and Franklin, Johnston and O'Sullivan watching the proceedings; they would then discover that neither had the constitutional right to assist the striking carman, but decided to send to Kansas City, Mo., for President Ryan of the Carmen, who had full jurisdiction. How much would there be left of the carman when Ryan arrived on the grounds? And what condition would he be in? Dead, of course. This is an example of how every issue that developed was treated by the boys from the "inner circle"

during the strike. It was dead before those who had constitutional rights and jurisdiction arrived on the job to give it first aid. Dead, just as they stood around and let the Shopmen's strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines die. While it was alive they spent the time deciding and locating their jurisdictional lines, and after it was dead on their own hands they did not have enough energy or "own initiative" left, as Mr. Franklin calls it, to swing the corpse upon their own shoulders and carry it along with them to remain as a smallpox sign for their own door, but hung it out in the prairie, where gathers the flock so that when an inquiring soul comes and looks over the ground, they can point to another dead issue in the graveyard of failure to substantiate their arguments against a "government by the people and for the people."

Dead, just as the Railway Department will some day die, from its jurisdictional disease. The disease that is sponsored by the false prophets who preach the "one for all and all for one" from the pulpits to catch the admiration of the crowd, then, like he who played Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, sit under the dark curtains and work the wires to classify the crowd that marches in copper-riveted overalls, pull the wires of malice and discontent until there is a war of monkey-wrench jurisdiction and disputes over the territory of nuts and bolts, ashpan hangers and drop-pit stalls. They have successfully wrecked the very foundation of federation and all of that which is fundamental and essential to make the cause of federation accomplish its purpose. And while they were playing this modern drama of ruin and disaster, where the victor's spoils is but the monthly license fee of him who works, the music plays "the one for all and all for one" and the crowd stands there and applauds in their maudlin enthusiasm, as they applauded when they wrecked the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines.

After they have accomplished their purposes, they won't have courage enough to come out and admit that it was they that wrecked it with their jurisdictional disease, their failure

to get together in the interest of the common cause, for they will do with the Railway Department what they did after they wrecked the Shopmen's strike—hang it upon the shoulders of those who paid the price, then hoot at them from the grandstands and laugh at their ignorance, as the girls did at McCarthy's wedding; after they had touched him for his roll, they tore up his purse and pinned it on the back of his dress suit in order to furnish amusement for the crowd. But McCarthy had a friend who came to his rescue before the catsup and biscuits ruined his dress suit. That is more than the cause of federation has got, for A. O. Wharton will sit there and view the passing show, and say nothing. Just like he sat and said nothing when they wrecked the Shopmen's strike, and the audience continues with prolonged applause.

THE COMING BACK OF THE DISTRICT

You will remember the stormy days of the Machinists' District, and how Jack Buckalew tried to bribe President Hawver to come to Mattoon, Ill., for a "machine." This was in December, 1912, when Jack Buckalew took the District to Mattoon to let it die a peaceful death, but I promised to show how it was brought to life again before the show was over, and this I am about to do. President L. M. Hawver of the District, who had gone to Florida, had returned to St. Louis, Mo., where he was working, and Wm. A. Newman, who was delegated by Buckalew to nurse the district after he resigned, got tired of looking after the corpse, and in the meantime it was wished onto a gentleman by the name of W. A. Moore, in Waterloo, Ia., who decided that there was as yet enough life in it to make a little noise.

Mr. Moore, full of the militant spirit, was waiting for the opportunity to take the corpse and shake it in the face of the gentleman in Washington; and this opportunity presented itself, as one of the lodges on strike in East St. Louis started to demand action and wanted to know why the district did not

go along and carry out their agreements they made with the Federation in November, 1912. We can best learn what took place in August, 1913, pretty near a year later, by putting Mr. W. A. Moore, the new Secretary of the District, on the stand. I take pleasure in introducing you to Mr. Moore, a gentleman from Waterloo, Ia., who says:

LABOR TEMPLE,
WATERLOO, IA., Aug. 5, 1913.

TO ALL MACHINIST LODGES.

Greeting: I, the undersigned, acting under instructions of District No. 21, I. A. of M., and with the approval of the International President, am submitting to you an appeal for financial aid.

Twenty-two months ago we came out on strike for recognition of the principles of FEDERATION. The business methods applied in handling the strike have proved inadequate, and the movement has suffered accordingly. This battle has been and is now being fought from an individual craft standpoint, and it is this evil that we wish to eradicate so that we may make better progress in the future.

Just imagine, if you can, a squadron of nine battleships (nine Grand Lodges) going into action, each with its own individual commander and each with its own particular method of attack. "What do you think would become of them?" . . . Well, COMPLETE ANNIHILATION would be their fate.

Let us prevent such a condition by taking the proper precaution; let us concentrate our efforts, in order that we may obtain the best results. In order that we may get results, we must have money, and to those of you who are, and those who intend to donate money to the cause of FEDERATION, I would ask that you continue to contribute as often, as liberal as your means will permit, but be sure that you send all money in the future to Bro. Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary, Box D, Clinton, Ill.

You will better understand the reason for this request when I tell you that in the past year you people have contributed from \$8,000 to \$10,000 per month to the Grand Lodge treasury for the benefit of the strikers; from this amount the I. C. strikers were led to believe that the sum of \$1,000 per month would be appropriated for the benefit of those still out on the firing line. However, of this amount, outside of constitutional benefits, we have only received the sum of \$1,000.

We are compelled to make this explanation in view of the fact that many of our members are under the impression that all these donations were being sent to the strikers.

This, however, is not true. The above statement is a true fact. We have only received \$1,000 from Grand Lodge, in addition to the constitutional benefits, during the twenty-two months' battle. To obtain even this paltry amount, we have had to fight all the Grand Lodge officers; and if it is the intention of the Grand Lodge to rock the I. C. and Harriman Lines to sleep, why, let them go to it.

However, with your assistance, we want to assure you that we will stay on the job and continue to fight to the limit to obtain just what you intend we should have when you made those donations.

Just a year ago Brother Person told you that the Grand Lodge was confiscating the money donated by you for the benefit of the strikers. We now repeat it, and as evidence of this fact, we want to tell you that we have not even received ordinary constitutional benefits for nearly four weeks at the time of writing.

We do not question where the money is going, because we know where the money is going. It is being spent for special organizing purposes; and if that is not CONFISCATION, what is it?

There are 11 small, but important, terminals on the I. C. where we have no pickets. This state of affairs is due solely to the fact that the money that you have contributed to the cause of federation is being used for other purposes.

Now, brothers, what is true of our own organization is equally true of all other crafts involved in this strike, and we have therefore instructed the Strike Secretary to correspond with all the crafts involved on the I. C. and Harriman Lines with a view of consolidating the strikers under one head so that the financial obligations and other important business pertaining to the strike may be handled through one office on a true federated basis. Once more impressing you with the necessity of sending your donations and assessments direct to the Strike Secretary, Bro. Carl E. Person, and thanking you in advance for your favorable consideration, I am,

With best wishes,

W. A. MOORE,

Secretary-Treasurer District No. 21.

P. S. If you desire any further information, I will be glad to give it to you to the best of my ability.

W. A. M.

Take particular notice to the first paragraph of Mr. Moore's letter and you will note the words, "AND WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT." Imagine, if you can, President Johnston of the Machinists approving of the letter.

This letter was drafted by Business Agent Molloy of the District, L. M. Hawver, President of the District, and the new Secretary, W. A. Moore. However, after a day's consideration, they agreed that it was the truth, but feared that President Johnston would not approve of the letter. They therefore drafted another letter which put a little more light on the situation. So we will again put Mr. Moore on the stand:

WATERLOO, IOWA, Aug. 6, 1913.

Dear Sir and Brother: Lodge No. 266, I. A. of M., recently submitted a proposition to the Advisory Board of District No. 21, which is approximately as follows:

- First:** That District officers prepare and send out an appeal to all lodges in the jurisdiction of the I. A. of M.
- Second:** That to be consistent with the cause for which we are out on strike, all appeals should be framed requesting that all money collected should be sent to Bro. Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary, Box D, Clinton, Ill., of the Central Federation.
- Third:** That the Federation shall assume all the financial obligations of District No. 21.
- Fourth:** That machinists over the entire system who are still on the firing line, shall receive first consideration from the benefits received, provided they in turn will give their best efforts to the Federation.
- Fifth:** That the Strike Secretary be authorized to increase or decrease the pickets when same are out of proportion.
- Sixth:** That the Strike Secretary of the Illinois Central System Federation be requested to take up with the Harriman Lines strike the question of amalgamating the strikers under one head, so that the finances and other important business can be handled through one office.
- Seventh:** That the Strike Secretary shall aim to pay the sum of \$15.00 as benefits to all strikers on the firing line with the exception of those still on the Grand Lodge payroll, when the sum shall be the difference in the amount of Grand Lodge benefits and the \$15.00.

This proposition was submitted to the Advisory Board and a sufficient majority having approved of the same, I am hereby instructed to submit an appeal to the entire membership of the I. A. of M. In doing so, I want to bring several matters to your attention which we consider are of vital importance to our movement.

Twenty-two months ago we came out on strike for recognition of the principles of federation. It is an undeniable fact that we are put on strike to compel the company to recognize something that we have so far refused to recognize ourselves. Our forces are not federated; our present methods are out of date, and we have no coherent plan of action, and because of this molly-coddle methods of doing business, our movement suffers accordingly.

This battle is being fought from an individual standpoint, just as each Grand Lodge President sees fit to dictate, and as a consequence the man on the firing line is made a mere puppet in the hands of those who are pulling the strings.

Just try to imagine, if you can, a squadron of battleships going into action, each with its individual commander and each with a different line of action. What do you suppose would become of them? Well, COMPLETE ANNIHILATION would be their fate, and if we don't watch out, this is what will happen to us unless we commence doing business on a federated basis.

Let us stop it while there is yet time; let us line up our forces, concentrate our efforts, and fight this battle along sane and consistent lines; with a sane and safe policy let us get some tangible results for the money that you are putting into this fight.

To those who have, and are now donating money to the cause of the Federation, we would ask that you continue to contribute just as liberally as your means will allow and, above all, see to it that it is

sent to the place where it will do the most good, and insist that it be used for no other purpose than that for which it was originally intended.

To those who have never had an assessment on for this purpose, or have made no donations, we would ask that you do so soon as possible. We note that approximately \$6,000 monthly has been sent into the Grand Lodge treasuries, and to all apparent purposes it is destined to remain there, for we on the firing line have not even received constitutional benefits for nearly four weeks at the time of writing. Brothers, when you sent that money in, you presumably sent it to be used for some specific purpose. Will you go yourselves one better and send all money collected to Brother Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary of the Illinois Central System Federation, Box D, Clinton, Ill.? I will try to show you the necessity for this request. There are 12 important terminal points on the Illinois Central System that have no representation, either from the Grand Lodge or the District, i.e., Council Bluffs, Cherokee, Carbondale, Central City, Dubuque, Fulton, Ky.; Louisville, Ky.; Jackson, Miss.; Amboy, Indianapolis, Sioux City and Birmingham. The same applies to many points on the Harriman Lines.

Now, brothers, when we go so far as to neglect 12 terminal points, which in itself is important, then 12 other points where we have representation must of necessity be placed in jeopardy and suffer accordingly.

This brings us to the point where we must ask ourselves the question, "Are we federationists?" or, "Is all this yelping about federation a beautiful dream?"

Your action on this matter will determine your answer to this question and will also become a matter for future reference. At a meeting of the District Board in St. Louis in March of this year, President Johnston was asked, and he told us that he favored, and led us to believe that the Grand Lodge would, in accord with our request, pay \$1,000 per month to both District No. 21 and No. 11.

This was done for one month only, and upon taking the matter up again recently with him (President Johnston), he stated that it would be impossible to comply further with our request, and added that it would be all right for us to go ahead and solicit funds for ourselves; hence, this appeal. I would also point out that with our very limited resources we have already put up such an aggressive fight that the Illinois Central Railroad has found it impossible to make money, and as evidence that they are not doing much business, we would point out that the I. C. stocks fell from 167 at the inception of the strike to 105½ at the present time, and on top of all this, and with the help of a three-quarter of a million dollar loan, they could only declare a dividend of 5% for the fiscal year just ended. This is 2% below their guaranteed 7%, which is the lowest in many years.

One other point and I will close: one of the strongest kicks that I have heard against federation is, "That the Machinists are the only ones putting up a fight."

Be this as it may, I will not argue the point, but it will be sufficient to say that nothing but unadulterated federation principles will dominate our action at all times. We have lost sight of craft unionism and all its attending curses, and are working for a greater and grander organization, and we will not recede one iota from the goal of federation.

Thanking you heartily in advance for your co-operation in a true federated movement, I am, with best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

W. A. MOORE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

P. S. I could write a volume on this subject, but do not want to tire you, so if there is any further explanation that you desire, I will be glad to answer to the best of my ability.

W. A. M.

Who was right in the opinion of the men on strike in 1912, when I fought Buckalew, Conlon, McCreery and Johnston? Here are the men on strike and their Business Agent, Molloy, as well, who came back one year afterwards and are making the same effort that I made in 1912. I am therefore vindicated by the men on strike, who are on the job and who have paid the price for the show in which they openly admit that the fight I have put up against the shoulder strap organization has been in accordance with federate law. Then, so far, who has been prostituting the men on strike? The Grand Lodge officers, or myself?

But let us hear from Mr. Moore again, in which he says:

DISTRICT LODGE NO. 21

WATERLOO, IA., Sept. 17, 1913.

CARL E. PERSON,

Dear Sir and Brother: Enclosed please find a copy of letter received from President Johnston, in reply to mine of the 10th, containing a copy of the revised appeal for aid.

You will also note copy of my reply to him under date of the 17th. Please advise what course I shall take now. I am at a loss to know what to do. I am about tired out with the damned fooling around, and if the Grand Lodge will persist in their czar-like methods, then I want to get off the job, for I am beginning to realize that I have wasted two years of my life.

Trusting that you will understand the sincerity of my remarks, I am, with best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) W. A. MOORE,
Secretary-Treasurer District No. 21, I. A. of M.

P. S. What can we do to make that joke of jokes move? viz., the Federation of Federations. They look to me like Andy's peace palace at The Hague.

W. A. M.

The following is the reply from President Johnston of the Machinists to the revised circular Mr. Moore forwarded him, with his letter of the 10th, as mentioned in the above letter of Mr. Moore's, and reads as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 15, 1913.

MR. W. A. MOORE,
District No. 21.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your esteemed favor of the 10th, requesting the approval of this office on your letter of appeal you desire to send out to the membership, received and contents noted.

In reply, beg to say I have no objections to approving of the letter, providing it is made to comply with our constitution. The law provides that all donations shall be sent thru our G. S. T. *This must be complied with.*

You can rest assured that any money received by this office designated for the I. C. will be promptly turned over to you as Secretary.

There are a large number of appeals now out, all of which are coming through the Grand Lodge. I will say for your information there is one from the Pere Marquette, from Mansfield, Ohio; Baltimore, Md.; Hyde Park, Mass.; Newark, N. J., and several others.

I will not agree to sanction an appeal to assist a SYSTEM federation, but will approve appeal issued in aid of the Machinists.

I believe that it is high time that we allowed these other organizations to assist their own members. Practically all the money that has been contributed up to the present time has come from the Machinists' lodges.

I believe if any further effort is being made, it should be for the Machinists' lodges. The strike has been for some time a Machinists' strike.

We are practically the only organization that is putting any effort or money into the struggle.

I do not believe we would be justified in putting in any further funds to help the other organizations when they have made no effort to support themselves.

Some of the members of the other organizations are going about the country informing that the Machinists' organization is bankrupt, while they have lots of money.

It would be very easy for us to boast of having lots of money if we never paid any out, the same as these organizations.

With the changes suggested, I have no objections and trust it may bring good results.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

WM. H. JOHNSTON,
International President.

Imagine Washington in arms again. After finding out that the District Jack Buckalew assured them was sound

asleep under the careful supervision of Wm. A. Newman in Mattoon, Ill., had now been stirred up by Business Agent Molloy, President Hawver, and the new Secretary, Moore. And please learn carefully President Johnston's attitude toward federation, which I shall comment on later.

Mr. Moore made the following reply to President Johnston, in which he says:

WATERLOO, IA., Sept. 17, 1913.

MR. WM. H. JOHNSTON,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your letter of the 15th, in reply to mine of the 10th, received and contents noted.

Would say in reply thereto, that while I believe in living up to the constitution as nearly as possible at all times, there most invariably come a time when it would be considered good policy to stretch a point, and to my mind that time has now arrived.

We have 12 important terminal points on the Illinois Central Railroad where we have no pickets, and why? Because we can't get money to keep men on the line.

We have made repeated efforts to raise money in the interest of the strike, but our every effort has been blocked at every turn.

You assure me that all money intended for the I. C. strikers will be turned over to me as Secretary of District No. 21. What good does this assurance do us when we have ample proof on our files that money has been sent to Grand Lodge for our benefit and the Grand Lodge has promptly returned the money to the senders?

My contention is this: If any or every lodge within the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists made an appropriation for the benefit of the I. C. and Harriman Lines strikers, or, in other words, "the System Federation," and they so expressed their desire when sending the money to Grand Lodge, then Grand Lodge had a right to forward same to its proper destination; but it had no right to assume the position of the dictator, practically telling the lodges in question that they did not know their business.

Regarding the refusal to sanction a system federation appeal, would say that I am somewhat surprised, for while you may be acting strictly within the confines of the constitution, it is a decidedly queer stand for a man of progressive ideas to take, because, whether we like it or not, FEDERATION is the movement of the hour, and we cannot prevent it; we can only retard its progress.

If the other organizations are not bright enough to realize this, then let us take them by the hand and teach it to them. We are quite capable of doing this, if we will, for the Machinists have always been and always will be the pioneers of progressive thought and progress within the labor movement. Are we going to take a back seat now? Shall we allow the other organizations to drag us back to their warped individualistic ideas? By the gods, I hope not.

So far as the efforts put forth during this struggle is concerned, I am of the opinion that (while you personally have done well, considering the circumstances under which you took control in 1912) we should

give credit where credit is due. I believe that the means will justify the end, and when we come to write VICTORY at the completion of this struggle, we will have to give it to the men in the Machinists' organization, who have so persistently fought for FEDERATION, and who advertised this strike—men who have been persecuted and beaten up by thugs; men whose sole ambition has been "the greatest good for the greatest number."

Personally, I will not make the suggested change on my own initiative. It is now up to the Advisory Board of District No. 21. It is just such stalling actions as this that has got the Grand Lodge into her present unenviable position, and incidentally putting us to the bad.

I am a FEDERATIONIST—militant, if you like; passive, never. With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) W. A. MOORE,
Secretary-Treasurer District No. 21, I. A. of M.

What do you think of Moore? President Johnston was busy in Washington about this time trying to figure out where his Business Agent had picked up the new irresponsible Secretary for the District. Mr. Moore, being a good democrat, solicited the advice of his friends in the new unpleasantness, and in his letter to me courts my advice, he, of course, having full knowledge of the fact that I had some experience in wagging Pete Conlon's dog, and Mr. Johnston's having had the misfortune of keeping an extra force busy marking down demerit marks against my card number; therefore, Father Jack Buckalew's wayward child favors Mr. Moore with the following conservative letter of condolence:

CLINTON, ILL., Sept. 20, 1913.

MR. W. A. MOORE,
Waterloo, Ia.

Dear Moore: Your letter fully noted. Also the enclosures. There are many things I could say in reply to same. However, this is not necessary, for Johnston's letter is self-explanatory and shows that they do not want federation. This is possibly news to you, but not to me, as I found this bunch out a year and a half ago, and that is why I fought them.

If you labored under the impressions that they will approve of anything that is done in the line of federation, this has only been imaginations on your part. NO; never for that bunch; and I was only surprised to know that you would ask them to approve of any line of action for the federated movement.

If you want to be popular with those boys, you will have to get out and work for the Machinists exclusively; and not only this, but against

the other crafts; and when they are killed off, why, Johnston will go to Chicago and get an agreement for the Machinists that will imply a settlement for a few of the runaways and not for those who have fought the fight; and this agreement will only be to make the animals believe they have an agreement, for after they are in there a few weeks, they won't have anything.

I do not know what you will do in the future, but know what I will do. I will try and move myself when it is possible to make that bunch move. I refuse to waste time or flirt with any of them, for I have gone over the route of trying to comply with adulterated authority a long time ago—or at the position where you find yourself now.

The question with us is, do we want federation, or what are we on strike for? Are we trying to force the I. C. to recognize a law that we won't adhere to ourselves?

Be it win or lose, I am going to stay with the principle, and will throw the defiance of suspension, expulsion and everything else at those who won't fight the game according to economic law.

Let us not lose any time trying to get them to move, or the other joke that you speak of, but move ourselves. This fight is too important to dilly-dally with non-essentials.

If you do not want to be expostulated or suspended, or possibly expelled, do not do anything at all. I thought that I explained this to you while you were here, for if you want to stay with the real cause and the fundamental issue, you can expect the barking hounds on your heels all the time.

It is a fact that at this time you will have two years of your time WASTED, if you will submit to the authority of the annihilators of economic law. You will not be responsible of wasting two years of your own time, but the two years of the many of your working class brothers, who don't see the danger and who do not stand at the throttle of motion, but those who are depending on you for its manipulation.

You must look into the vale of tomorrow, or the field of reaction, and place yourself on a solid foundation. If you think that you have sufficient grounds to stand on by adhering to such sophistry as Johnston's, then, very well, go ahead; but for me, I have tested it, weighed it, and measured it, and taken its blueprints from every angle, and I won't have nothing to do with it, for it will not be safe to stand on in the future when the issue will have to undergo the transition period on the platform of reasoning.

I have no other suggestions, or any instructions. This proposition was decided on at one time, and that should be sufficient. If someone has failed to carry into reality contemplated projections, then that is up to them.

The question with you should be: adjust your position in that principle of which is the right one, and prepare yourself to swim against the current YOURSELF, if you have to, and that will necessitate energy and PERSISTENCE. IF YOU ARE GOING TO GIVE UP, it is easy sailing, and you will find lots of company on the GRAND-STAND. However, you are one of the few left that I always depended on to fight for the cause until you win or die on the job, and it is hoped that I have not been laboring under any misconception.

TODAY IS THE DAY FOR MEN.

Sincerely yours,

CARL E. PERSON.

A year before this time, Mr. Johnston would not endorse a letter sent out to aid the Machinists. I sent them out and was suspended for so doing. At this time, a year later, he has softened up to the extent that he would endorse a letter sent out to aid the Machinists, but not to assist the Federation; he is off it for a good many reasons, just as Mr. C. H. Markham of the Illinois Central was off. One of his excuses was that he did not get the 30 days' notice; another was that there was a carman that was at the head of it, and when Mr. Walsh, the chairman of the commission, pinned him down, he finally said, "*that he had made up his mind to fight the Federation at any price.*" Mr. Markham was at least a gentleman about it. He came out and told the truth. But here is Mr. Johnston, President of the Machinists, trying to hide behind a dozen different excuses, and while every move he has made since the inception of the strike indicates that he, too, was going to fight the Federation at any price. It took him up to September 15, 1913, to come out and admit it, which he does in this letter by stating that he wouldn't do anything to assist federation. And at the same time he is playing to the galleries by squandering the funds of the Machinists' International Union by paying per capita tax to the Railway Department in order to make people believe that he is a federationist.

President Johnston put in a good word for the Carmen, the Boilermakers, Sheet Metal Workers, by stating that they did not and would not put money in the strike, but instead built up their treasuries. Right you are, Mr. Johnston, and it was not your fault that you did not do the same. Give this credit to Jack Buckalew; he started the ball rolling on the Illinois Central, throughout the district and his war cabinet. Johnston wanted to make his next election campaign on the fact that he had built up the association treasury at the expense of the "war babies," but he failed, for the "war babies" cried too loudly for him to get away with it. The other organizations put their war babies to sleep or gave them enough toys to play with, so they overlooked the real issue, and there-

fore, like the Carmen and Boilermakers, were getting rich enough to get Wall Street ratings, while their men were on the line without funds. Further, had not their men put up the fight they did, the organization wouldn't have enough railroad agreements now to make a shade for a barnyard lantern.

Mr. Johnston stated that the Machinists were practically the only ones putting any effort or money in the struggle, and therefore were willing to ditch the others in taking this position. There was no credit due Johnston, even if it was the truth, for Mr. Johnston did his share in trying to drive his Machinists off the system long before this 15th of September, 1913, and the Machinists who were on the line at that time stayed to see how progressive Mr. Johnston really was. They all left fully satisfied that there are more ingredients of conservatism in him than in the oldest woman of Boston, and that he is a bigger reactionist than the mossbacks who ridiculed Edison when he first got an idea. But what made him dangerous was his slippery smile of deceit, that is common among Tammany politicians and well known among those who paid the price to see him perform on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines.

Assuming that all of the other organizations had given up the fight, that does not justify Mr. Johnston of the Machinists to surrender and give up the organization. The men worth while, any place or everywhere, are those that will stand true to their decisions even though they are deserted and disowned by everybody; it is dead easy to play the game when the crowd is with you, but to stand out and stand alone, deserted by friends and surrounded by the barking wolves of reaction and still march along and carry your own load and the load you depended on others to shoulder when you started out on the journey, that is, the man, and the man worth while, and the organization that will and can also do that, is the organization worth while.

The progress that had been made in the labor movement

or any other movement has been made by the determined and unfaltered few. The mob never did anything but bark and hiss at those who made the paths of progress. Every decisive battle that was ever won, back in the annals of history, was won because back of it was the determination to win and get there, and get there at any price. The same bold spirit that carried a knapsack upon its back over the mountains and valleys and sailed the seas in search for new continents and the repositories of earth's hidden treasures.

During a strike any place there is always the scissorbill, who is waiting for a chance to hide behind the weakness of others. He can generally be seen upon the avenue or down where lingers the society of "the can't be done," and he'll point to the actions of his weak sisters and upon their misfortunes try to build up a justification for his doing the same thing. So, too, Mr. Johnston played the part of the scissorbill, by stating that Mr. Ryan, Mr. Franklin, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Carrigan, Mr. Headrick, Mr. Kinsella and Mr. Kline had gone back on the movement and were building up their bank accounts and getting rich, not taking into consideration that there was something else at stake in the strike but the desire to "get rich quick," which anyone could accomplish.

There would not be a local labor union in existence today if its existence depended upon everybody to go along. Every place you look you can see a handful of men, out of the mob, that are the active and moving spirits that are responsible for its existence, its progress, its growth and its welfare. These active agents do not have in mind the tearing down of the charter from the wall because the Smiths and Schultz brothers do not come to every meeting or play the game as actively as they play it themselves, but instead they plug along, take care of their own responsibilities, and shoulder the responsibilities of the dead-timber element as well. If anyone goes wrong that does not change their line of action or cause them to throw up their hands with despair like that of Mr. Johnston when he stated that "I do not believe

that we would be justified in putting in any further funds to help the other organizations, when they have made no effort to support themselves."

In justice to the other organizations, it can be said that they were doing something at that time. The Blacksmiths and Boilermakers were placing about as much money on the line then as the Machinists were; they did not have as many men, but those that they had on were being paid more than what was paid to the Machinists. The Carmen were not doing anything at this time. Had Mr. Johnston made this statement in December, 1912, he would have caught them all laying down on the job but the Blacksmiths, who had some men on the line since the very inception of the strike until it was called off.

The new district did not carry out their plans, because of the fact that the Grand Lodge had threatened to suspend all the members of the district, and in a letter dated some few months after, Mr. Moore can best explain the situation, therefore we will again put Secretary Moore on the stand:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS,
DISTRICT LODGE NO. 21

LABOR TEMPLE, WATERLOO, IOWA, Dec. 22, 1913.

To the "Boys" on the I. C. Firing Line.

Brothers—Greeting: It gives me much pleasure to be able (thru the generosity of the various lodges who have contributed to our appeal) to send out a small benefit as an extra for Xmas.

In doing so I want to say a few words: I fully realize that I have been unable to satisfy everybody, but under the circumstances I have done the best I could, and if I could go fully into detail I believe that you would coincide with me. The situation that I have found myself in at different times has been very trying to me, as I could not always do as I have desired to.

There was an occasion when our Grand Lodge President made a threat to not only suspend me, but every member of the district, consequently someone had to back-water and I did it to avoid such action being taken.

This circumstance was brought about mainly by an action of the Advisory Board, taken before I was appointed to the position of Secretary-Treasurer, and which, although quite legal and orderly, was directly the means of calling forth this rebuke from our President.

When the time arrives this can all be explained, but in the meantime we must avoid friction, and to that end I want to devote my attentions as I said before. I probably have not satisfied all of you, but I

have ever had in mind the best interests of all concerned, and until I can see something better, that is the principle that will dominate all my actions while occupying the position as your Secretary-Treasurer.

I will close by thanking each and every one of you for the support and encouragement that you have given me and for the noble work that you are doing under adverse circumstances.

Wishing you one and all as happy a Christmas as the conditions will allow, and hoping for a brighter and prosperous New Year, I am,

Yours fraternally,

W. A. MOORE,

Secretary-Treasurer District No. 21.

That was the ultimatum issued to Mr. Moore, Secretary of the District No. 21, I. A. of M., that if he would issue or cause to be issued a letter from the district, soliciting financial aid for the Federation, he would not only suspend Secretary W. A. Moore from the Machinists' organization but every member of the district, which included all the Machinists on strike on the Illinois Central Railroad. What do you think of that for autocracy? Such was the decision of he who said, "I am the King." In this case he was worse than he was a year previous to that time when I was suspended; he was satisfied then by suspending me as the District Secretary and calling for Jack Buckalew's resignation. But now, one year further into the strike, he threatened to take *the card away from every Machinist on the system*, those who had walked the line there for the cause, for two long years and stoked up the fires of the force that moved forward. This took place one thousand nine hundred and thirteen years after the birth of Christ, in the enlightened country of the United States, by a labor leader named W. H. Johnston, who was parading around under the mask of *progressivism*.

Mr. Moore, District Secretary, was a good, honest, sincere fellow, like the average good union man that had stood on the line and weathered the storm and its consequences for two years. He did not want to take the chance of jeopardizing the union card of all the Machinists on strike on the Illinois Central. Had his own card been the only thing at stake, Mr. Moore would have willingly told Johnston to go to Atlantic

City for the rest cure. Very fortunate, however, that such ultimatum was not issued to me when I was shaking up the district, for some morning all the striking Machinists would have wakened up and found out that they had been excommunicated from the Washington insurance society. My policy was that if you couldn't play the game squarely while carrying the iron cross, you was a better soldier without it.

THE AWAKENING OF OMAHA SAM

By this time you will possibly say, what was the movement doing on the Harriman Lines? I will try and tell you. Jack Buckalew was in Omaha, September, 1912, and from all indications, Samuel Grace, Business Agent for the Machinists on the Harriman Lines, was just sitting on the corpse—that's all. He made absolutely no effort to keep up an organization or get any money on the job, just waiting around like an old lady.

Let us hear from Jack Buckalew on this, in his letter of Sept. 17, 1912, which you will find by turning back in this book. He says in the next to the last paragraph:

"I AM SORRY TO SAY THAT DISTRICT NO. 11 HAS SHOWN SO LITTLE ACTIVITY ALONG THIS LINE."

If you will read Jack's letter again, you will find that he is sorry because District No. 11 is laying down on the job, and therefore they left it all to District No. 21. District No. 11, I. A. of M., derived the benefits of the work that was done in District No. 21 on the Illinois Central. There are no records any place or anywhere to show where District No. 21 of the Illinois Central had solicited one dollar since July, 1912. Without making the request that the 60 per cent of the money should be sent to the boys on the Harriman Lines. Therefore, District No. 21 spent the money for circulars, postage, maintained an office, and asked for the small end of the receipts. This stands out as an undeniable fact, and such was the proper

thing to do, for the boys on the Harriman Lines shouldn't have suffered if it could be helped, because Samuel Grace went to sleep on the coffin, and when someone went to him and said, "Sam, get up and do something," he then went to his Bible, "THE MACHINIST CONSTITUTION," and decided that he had not better say anything for fear that he would be cut off the payroll at Washington. I assume that he would murmur to himself, "WELL, I AM GETTING MINE, SO WHAT'S THE USE?" Of course, this is only an assumption, but if you will look over the monthly financial statements issued by George Preston of the I. A. of M. from Washington between June 1, 1911, to Dec. 31, 1915, you will find that Sam got about \$6,151.36 for being kind to Pete Conlon's dog. Of course the strike was in progress during this time, and occasionally Sam would take a trip over the cushions and tell the boys to stick, that is, when he found someone left in the place to stick.

Someone will possibly say, maybe Sam didn't know there was a strike on. That question came up among the boys on the Illinois Central, and it was in the middle of 1913 when it was decided that it would be an appropriate time to put Sam on record, so that after the strike was over he could not come out and play ignorant and say that no one told him that there was a strike on the Harriman Lines, so let us see what happened when he was told about it, which reads as follows :

RAILWAY EMPLOYES' DEPARTMENT

ST. LOUIS, Mo., July 25, 1913.

MESSRS. C. E. COLLINGS, T. G. ALVORD, J. G. TAYLOR, S. H. GRACE.

Gentlemen and Brothers: The enclosed proposition was endorsed by Lodge No. 266, I. A. or M., and is self-explanatory:

First: That district officers prepare and send out an appeal to all lodges in the jurisdiction of the I. A. of M.

Second: That to be consistent with the cause for which we are out on strike, all appeals should be framed requesting that all money collected should be sent to Bro. Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary, Box "D," Clinton, Ill., of the Illinois Central Federation.

Third: That the Federation shall assume all the financial obligations of District No. 21.

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

Fourth: That Machinists over the entire system who are still on the firing line shall receive first consideration from the benefits received, provided they in turn will give their best efforts to the Federation.

Fifth: That the Strike Secretary be authorized to increase or decrease the pickets when same are out of proportion.

Sixth: That the Strike Secretary of Illinois Central System Federation be requested to take up with the Harriman Line strike the question of amalgamating the strikers under one head, so that the finances and other important business can be handled thru one office.

Seventh: That the Strike Secretary shall aim to pay the sum of \$15 as benefits to all strikers on the firing line with the exception of those still on the Grand Lodge payroll, when the sum shall be the difference in the amount of Grand Lodge benefits and the \$15.

Brother Newman, our District Secretary-Treasurer, has had the matter of finance up with President Johnston, and he informs me that President Johnston has given his consent for us to circularize all local bodies for funds to keep our men on the line and continue an aggressive campaign.

We should by all means get our business under one head and have a system of handling same. We want permission to use your name on an appeal to all sister lodges for funds, same to be sent to Brother Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary of the Illinois Central Federation.

The question of the fair division of funds is a hard one to solve; however, I think that Brother Person, assisted by your advice, would be perfectly fair in this matter, as we are all in this fight in the interest of the brothers on the Harriman Lines as well as on the Illinois Central.

When this proposition was drawn up, we hardly knew how to go about it to cover your situation, and as time is valuable, and no money in our treasury, we should rush this matter as much as possible and get out our letter.

I believe with your co-operation we can get nearly all of the money that is being donated by the rank and file for the conduct of this strike sent to one point which would amount to from \$4,000 to \$8,000 per month, using this to pay special benefits to live men on the lines and doubling our efforts on the advertising, we will give the railroads a run for their money.

I favor getting right after all other crafts the same way, but first we must get right ourselves.

Brother Newman has tendered his resignation as District Secretary-Treasurer, to take effect July 31st, and Brother W. A. Moore, Labor Temple, Waterloo, Iowa, has been selected to fill the vacancy.

Brother Scott has suggested that effort be made to have the Secretaries of the Harriman Lines forward weekly reports to Brother Person, so that same can be embodied in this bulletin; at the present time he is receiving but very few reports from the Harriman Lines.

Hoping to receive an early and favorable reply, I remain,

Yours in battle,

(Signed) L. M. HAWVER,

President District No. 21, I. A. of M.

Address, Room 302, Sawyer Bldg.,
810 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.

Now, imagine Sam, if you can, rubbing his eyes, reading that letter and going over the constitution. Being mindful that he had at that time received a good portion of the \$6,151.38, he starts out to consult President Johnston of Washington. Yes, way up in 1913, pretty near two years after the strike was called, he didn't know any better than to consult President Johnston on something that would be conducive to the best interest of the strike. Let us, therefore, hear Sam himself on this question:

OMAHA, NEB., July 29, 1913.

MR. WM. H. JOHNSTON, V. P.,
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir and Brother: I am just in receipt of a letter and circular from Brother L. M. Hawver, President District No. 21, copy of which was sent other officers of District No. 11, in which he states that you have given Brother Newman, Secretary of District No. 21, permission to send out an appeal for financial aid to our lodges throughout the country and desiring permission to use the names of some of the officers of District No. 11, and then have all the funds sent to Brother Person at Clinton, who will disburse same in advertising the strike and in the payment of men doing picket duty, endeavoring, if I understand the affair properly, to pay all the pickets at the rate of \$15 per week, deducting, of course, what the men on picket duty receive from their own organization, also desiring that what funds may be in the hands of the District Secretary-Treasurer of either district will be sent to Brother Person, and in the circular issued by one of the I. C. lodges, No. 266, they say Machinists shall be given first consideration.

What they are driving at is more than I can see, unless they want to turn the handling of the entire strike over to Brother Person. You can, no doubt, secure a copy of the letter sent out by Hawver or John Scott.

I have never seen any notice where you have sent out any circular to offset the other one requesting that donations be sent to G. L., and believe that if you have given District No. 21 permission to send out a circular to your lodges, District 11 should have the same privilege unless it can be arranged so that a joint circular in the form of an appeal can be sent out after the expense has been paid. Then the balance of the funds to be sent to the District Secretary-Treasurer on the basis of 40 per cent to the I. C. and 60 per cent to District 11, or even a new percentage, but think if they will publish the receipts of District No. 21, as done by District 11, all will see that they have received their percentage.

Further, I have never seen any official notice after the G. L. removed Brother Person from the position of Assistant Secretary of District No. 21, whereby he was eligible for the position they now want to place him in. Let District No. 21 handle their affairs in any way they see fit, and surely our district is entitled to the same consideration.

I shall contend that the Machinists have been financing and conducting this strike for some time and will, no doubt, have to continue

to do so in the future. Let the other organizations show some interest in the affair and then it will be time enough to request something further from the Machinists, and not until then, in my opinion. I am perfectly willing to let any outside party handle the funds if an appeal is to be issued, either Wharton, Scott or our General Secretary-Treasurer, but am certainly opposed to any such a one-sided proposition as contemplated in the present circular. Have nothing personal against Brother Person or any other members of District No. 21, but insist at least upon an even break for the men of District No. 11, and will notify Brother Hawver that I must refuse the use of my name to any appeal, the funds to be used as outlined in his letter and in circular of Lodge No. 266.

Awaiting your reply, and with best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) SAMUEL GRACE,
B. A., District No. 11.

Now that Sam had wakened up and you have heard his testimony, you will note that he is not very strong for co-operation. He didn't know, of course, that the money that District No. 11 had received for the last year was the money that District No. 21 solicited for them, such as the money from Lodge No. 695 at Silvis, Ill.; Lodge No. 473 at Danville, Ill., and the other lodges east of Omaha, east of Kansas City and St. Louis, such lodges as our men visited and requested the 60 per cent of the money to be sent to District No. 11. Sam, of course, thought that this money came in of its own volition, without any agency requesting that it be routed in this manner.

The proposition insofar as Machinists was concerned stated that could the co-operation of the District No. 11 be brought about with the Federation, the Federation would take over their payroll, and pay such men as they already had on the payroll out of the money coming in, providing, however, that such men were devoting all their time to the interest of the strike and should funds warrant it, then the Federation would pay anyone from any craft that was doing picket duty, but first look after those that were already on the line, before new pickets would be added to the payrolls.

But, as you can understand, Samuel Grace was afraid that some dollar that had been donated by a Machinist lodge somewhere would be used in paying a blacksmith or a pipefitter,

for giving the movement 18 hours a day in the interest of the strike; this you can understand, can't you? And, of course, Sam is a federationist, providing that everybody else is a federationist. But should someone by misfortune, ignorance or poverty be unable to play the game, then Sam Grace, like little Michael Brodie next door, who quit on the job because his little sister did not carry as many buckets of water for the potato plants in the garden as he did, so, too, Sam Grace quit on the job because some of his playmates couldn't carry the same load. Poor old Samuel, he was going to see that the fellows that did not have a penny to put in the slot weren't going to get any chewing gunm.

Is there any wonder that the strike was lost?

Sam should have known that if the membership of the other crafts were not doing what they should, it was not the fault of the membership, but the fault of the International officers of those organizations.

What would you say if the Secretary or the President of your union would resign next meeting because every member of their union did not attend as many meetings during the year as they did? I know what would happen if the Mahony brothers were there. They would ride him on a rail out of town, or take him to a nut factory, or at least tell him that we had arrived in the bright age of the twentieth century.

What would you say if some old moss-back would come in and get a job in the morning and was assigned to the big planer, or the 36-inch, over against the wall. And then in a few days he would quit because he discovered that others in the shop were not doing as much work as he was? Please tell me, wouldn't you say he was a "nut," that you never heard anything like it before? No, my reader, you have to go into the labor movement to find people as insane as "Sam."

Or, suppose that Sam Grace should go to work in some shop and be assigned to the erecting gang, and he found that because he was a new man and did not have as much experience as the rest of the boys, or handicapped by age, and then

all the boys would quit 10 o'clock in the morning, pick up their tools and the general foreman would come along and ask them, "*What's the matter?*" and they would say, "Well, Sam Grace can't do as much work as the rest of us, therefore we won't work with him." Of course you would say that would never happen. No, never, among people that have common sense. But this is just what Sam Grace did with us while we were on strike. He wouldn't work with the rest of the boys because he was the strongest, the biggest and the best of them all. And if this was the case, this is the very reason why he should keep right on working and carry the loads of those that couldn't keep up their end as well as he could.

But what can you do with them? Let them die in peace, for they are as far behind the time as the old trapper you met in your last hunting trip out in the mountains, who kept you up all night talking Bryan and free silver. What applies to Sam Grace in the foregoing can also apply to President Johnston of the Machinists and all the reactionary characters that I have made you acquainted with in this story.

Let us again talk with Sam Grace. He would not have anything to do with the federate proposition in centralizing the movement on the two roads on strike, because President Johnston did not like the way I had treated Pete Conlon's dog. I was aware of the fact that if the movement was going to sleep in Sam Grace's district, we would suffer the consequences as well on the Illinois Central. But he wouldn't play because I had demerit marks against my record in Washington, and so he put up the same excuse as "Bright Eyes," the merchant's daughter, did when she was given an invitation to Jenny's birthday party. She wouldn't come because the little Italian girl in the house near the bridge, who didn't curl her hair or wore ribbons on her Easter bonnet, was to be there. So, too, with Sam Grace, and he is old enough to shave and wear long pants, see a burlesque show, has been out all night with the boys, heard of Mary Pickford, Charley Chaplin and Bill Johnston.

But let us connect up the story and learn what Washington said in reply to Sam's letter. Washington to the witness stand:

R. P.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 5, 1913.

SAM GRACE, A. O. WHARTON, FRANK CONNOR.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: Mr. Johnston, being about to leave Washington, has requested the undersigned to send copies of this communication to all foregoing, with the following explanation:

First: That some time ago, when making donations from the G. L. Treasury to Districts 11 and 21, he was of the expectations of being able to continue said donations on a monthly basis, and that no one regrets more than himself (and the undersigned) that he was unable to repeat said donations.

The demands made upon us for strike benefits have been so large as to use up our funds entirely and we are now nearly two weeks in arrears with our payrolls to local lodges.

It is this consideration which influenced him to grant the request of District 21, per Brother Newman, to issue a circular calling for the donations, and in giving that permission it was his intention to extend the same consideration to District 11.

After giving this matter due thought, he is of the opinion that a joint circular should be issued by both districts, calling for the donation of funds, the same to be sent to all lodges thru the department of the G. S. T., as called for by Sec. 16, page 40, of the constitution that it was not his intentions in any way to give consent for the appeal for funds outside of the foregoing constitutional provision.

He further desires me to say that the disqualifications of Brother Person from acting as Assistant Secretary of District 21 some time ago has not been canceled, so that he is unable to understand why a circular should be issued calling for funds to be sent to Brother Person.

He desires it clearly understood that the G. L. will accept no responsibility for any business transacted with Brother Person, contrary to the instructions of the G. L.

I, therefore, trust that an effort will be made to get together on a joint appeal to our association for funds to help carry on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) GEORGE PRESTON,
G. S. T.

We have got the law from Washington. And we find that President Johnston is shrewd enough to shove it over to Secretary George Preston. We also find that permission to solicit funds had been given to Secretary Newman of District No. 21, and there are no objections to the co-operation of the two districts. If such was a good proposition, why did not Mr.

Johnston or Mr. Preston inaugurate this two years before, or at the inception of the strike? Do labor leaders have to be told by someone from the ranks the way to get the best results? If the co-operation of the two machinists' districts in the handling of the strike or in soliciting funds for the strike will bring about better results, than if such funds are solicited by the individual districts, independent of the other, would not, then, the co-operation of all districts comprising all crafts on strike bring about still greater results? Of course, it would, and that is the Federation and the very thing Hawver and Scott had in mind when they submitted the proposition to Samuel Grace.

When John Scott, Secretary of the Railway Department, and Hawver drew up the proposition and sent it to Sam Grace, I was not consulted, and did not want to be, but they knew that anything that they agreed on which was in compliance with federate law could be laid at my door and I would do my very best to materialize it.

I had no further desire than to do something when the rest of them failed to do anything, and my records will substantiate this.

My records are clear and will stand the closest investigation. Mr. Wharton has letters on file in his office from me, in which I told him that if the Railway Department would take over the handling of the strikes, solicit funds and by this method inaugurate the best possible results of federation, by co-operating the movement between the two roads on strike, the Illinois Central men stood ready to turn their Federation over to the department, and I stood ready to serve them at no expense as a janitor or in any other capacity, and that there would only be one understanding, and that was, they had to "DELIVER THE GOODS."

There is still another point to cover in Preston's letter to Sam Grace, wherein he quoted from the constitution, "that all money must be sent *through* the Grand Lodge." That is as false as it is misleading. Have we not proven that the money

went to THE GRAND LODGE AND NOT *THROUGH* THE GRAND LODGE? You can turn back and get all the evidence you please to substantiate this.

But you will say, maybe the Grand Lodge had changed and is no longer confiscating the strikers' funds. If this is the case, I win, for what caused them to quit confiscating the strikers' funds? The fight we put up in the district against the Grand Lodge? The publicity on this subject in the *Strike Bulletin*? The circular letters that the Grand Lodge said were unauthorized? Or what did cause them to discontinue confiscating the funds of the "war babies" at this time? Did Mr. Johnston and his Executive Board by accident drop in to hear Billy Sunday when he was discussing the subject of confiscation? What had taken place?

There were no available records to show that they had discontinued the confiscation, and therefore it was a capital idea to get a joint circular out from District 21 and District 11. The Grand Lodge approve of it and have the money routed to the Grand Lodge. There it would stay, and the only funds that could be received from it would be the wages that the strikers were getting, which was six and eight dollars per week. And in this I speak from experience and from the blue-prints of a fight that had been fought and fought hard.

PART IV

GRAND LODGE OFFICERS AND THEIR EMISSARIES AT WORK IN VARIOUS CHANNELS AGAINST THE FEDERATION, AND EVENTUALLY DECLARE THE STRIKE OFF AGAINST THE WISHES OF THE MEN INVOLVED

FORCES LEADING TO U. S. INVESTIGATION

The Illinois Central and Harriman Line strike was one of the oldest strikes in existence, when the government appointed a commission to investigate industrial disputes, but for some reason there was nothing done as far as making an investigation of the railroad strikes up to November, 1913, and there were no successful efforts made by the Grand Lodge officers to have the commission take up the Illinois Central and Harriman strikes. In October, 1913, I consulted Attorney Frank Comerford of Chicago for the purpose of having him take a trip to Washington and call on the commission and there place the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines matter before them. It happened that the convention of the American Federation of Labor was to take place in Seattle in November, 1913, and both Mr. John A. Lennon and James O'Connell, labor members on the commission, would be at this convention at Seattle. The Grand Lodge Presidents of the organizations who had jurisdiction of the men on strike would also be there. Therefore, Seattle was picked as the appropriate place to take up this matter and see if it could not be placed before the commission.

Attorney Frank Comerford went to the Seattle convention

to represent the men on strike, consulted with the Grand Lodge Presidents and Messrs. O'Connell and Lennon of the commission. Comerford made a speech concerning the Illinois Central and the Harriman Lines strike before the convention, in which he outlined his plans for making an investigation of the strike.

The following letter from Mr. Comerford, with his plan of taking the strike before the commission is the best information available on this subject. Therefore, let us read the following:

CHICAGO, October 9, 1913.

My Dear Person: In compliance with our recent conference in Chicago I have drafted my plan to take the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike to the commission of Industrial Relations. I am enclosing a copy.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK COMERFORD.

Dear Sir and Brother: On September 30, 1911, the shopmen of the Illinois Central and the Harriman Lines were "locked out" by the companies because they refused to abandon their inalienable right to treat with their employers as a system federation. Forty thousand men surrendered their jobs rather than abandon their rights as free men. The struggle is now nearly two years old and it can be said with great credit to the loyalty of these men that less than 5 per cent have surrendered and gone back to their places.

A bill creating an Industrial Relations Commission was passed by the Sixty-second Congress.

On June 26, 1913, President Wilson appointed the commission under this law. This body, called the Commission on Industrial Relations, is directed to inquire into the general condition of labor in the United States and especially in the existing relations between employers and employes in which the business is carried on in corporate form. The commission is given power to subpoena witnesses and compel attendance. The commission is directed to report the facts adduced with its findings and conclusions of the commission to Congress.

Publicity is the greatest power in America today. The industrial combinations recognize this fact and have as a part of their equipment a publicity department. When the situation broke on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines two years ago these corporations recognized this fact and used space in the large newspapers of the cities in the strike zone to place before the public their side of the case. The cost of this was enormous. The labor organizations involved could not meet this challenge. They did not have the money.

It is my plan to place the entire Illinois Central and Harriman Lines controversy before the Commission on Industrial Relations by filing a petition asking the convening of the commission and the holding of an inquiry. The first case tried by this new commission will attract universal public attention. The happenings before the commission will have a news value that will compel the public prints of the country to

give the facts to the people. Then, too, the facts and the conclusions and findings of the commission are to be reported to Congress. This will bring the entire situation directly to the attention of the people of the country, and to our official representatives in the Federal Government. The advantage of making the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines case the first subject to be inquired into by this new commission is plain. The first case will be the tryout of this experiment and will be in the nature of a precedent maker.

We can gather and prepare and present evidence that will startle the American people.

First, we can show that the Illinois Central Railroad Company is a corporation. That a corporation is an organization of dollars. That the law of the State of Illinois gave dollars the right to organize into the corporation known as the Illinois Central Railroad; that under the terms of the charter issued by the State of Illinois to the Illinois Central Railroad Company, the State of Illinois is the partner of the Illinois Central Railroad Company. That the State of Illinois participates in the revenues of the Illinois Central Railroad Company and that the Governor of the State of Illinois is ex-officio a director of the Illinois Central Railroad Company. This is a participation in the management of the Illinois Central by the State of Illinois. That these facts establish a partnership, both in law and in common sense.

Second, that the Illinois Central situation is not a "strike." That it is a "lockout." There was no controversy between the men and the company as to terms of employment, etc.; that the shopmen went to the company in a committee to treat with the company concerning their contract of employment. That the committee represented an organization of all the shop crafts on the Illinois Central, called the System Federation; that the officials of the company refused to treat with these representatives of the men; that they insisted that the shopmen did not have a right to organize into a System Federation; that the men were given the choice of either surrendering their inalienable right to organize into effective and logical form or to quit their jobs; that the men were compelled to quit their jobs.

Third, we want to know if the State of Illinois as a sovereign state in the republic, the creator of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and under the law the partner of the Illinois Central, is dealing fairly with American citizens, when it sanctions and approves the stand taken by its partner, the Illinois Central, denying to American citizens the right to organize—a right that under the law it freely gives to dollars?

Fourth, we can show the number of wrecks on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines since the date of the "lockout." We can prove that these wrecks were the result of deterioration in the rolling stock of the roads, due to the employment of unskilled and incompetent men, who have taken the places of the "locked out" employees. We can suggest the danger to the traveling public. We can list the wrecks, the dead and the wounded.

Fifth, we can show the methods employed by the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines after the "lockout." How advertisements were placed in the papers luring mechanics to these roads without informing them that a labor difficulty existed there. Without going into the details of this subdivision of our proof, it becomes apparent that this abuse can be exposed in a way that will result in a far-reaching remedy.

Sixth, we can show that the Illinois Central as a common carrier

is bound under the Federal law to furnish all the cars required by its shippers and that its failure to comply with this legal duty made it responsible to the shippers in damages. We can show that the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and no doubt the other companies, failed to supply cars for shippers along its lines and that as a result mines were closed down, labor thrown out of employment, business interfered with and industry paralyzed. On March 28, 1913, a suit was started against the Illinois Central by the Southern Illinois Coal & Coke Company, asking damages to the extent of \$200,000, because of the Illinois Central's failure to supply its mines in southern Illinois, known as the "Oakridge" and "Hemlock," with sufficient cars. We can show that in Kentucky the River Rail Coal & Coke Company recovered damages in a large amount against the Illinois Central and that the verdict of guilty against the Illinois Central was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the State of Kentucky in the 150 Southwestern Reporter, page 631. We can show that while the coal operator who is not furnished cars has in the law a remedy for the damage done to him because he is compelled to close down his mine, the men who are thrown out of work have no legal remedy for the damage done to them. We can show that the business men of the small towns have suffered because the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines "locked out" its employees and because these lines failed in their legal duties to the public.

Seventh, we can show the financial condition of the large owners of the stock of the Harriman Lines and the Illinois Central. The men who control these companies are millionaires. We can show that the men who worked for the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines are American citizens who depend upon their pay envelopes to carry out their obligations to their wives and families. We can show that religion, government and nature tell working men to marry; that they obey and as a result of their marriage bring into the world children; that it is their duty to shelter, clothe, feed and educate their children and to maintain and care for their wives. That the working man has but one means of carrying out this responsibility; it is his wage. He has but one thing, and that is his ability to work. That if his pay envelope is not large enough to make good his responsibility to his wife and children he becomes bankrupt and that his bankruptcy means the insolvency of society. That he cannot beg, because begging is prohibited by law and is a crime called vagrancy; that he cannot steal, because stealing is prohibited by law and is a crime called larceny; that he cannot abandon his wife and children, because wife and child abandonment is a crime prohibited by law; that he cannot kill his wife and children, because that is prohibited by law; that he cannot prevent his children coming into the world, because that is a crime prohibited by law; that unless his pay envelope is large enough to meet his moral and social duties to his wife and children, starvation, child labor, unhappiness and a great many other social by-products are the result.

In view of the fact that the strict rules of evidence governing the admissibility of testimony in courts of law will not control the procedure of this commission, we will be able to get all the facts showing the human side of this controversy. These are the facts that in my judgment must be given to the public mind divorced from any connection with partisan politics or political programmes. If given to the public mind through this commission a public opinion beneficial to the cause of the labor movement will result. The Harriman Lines and the Illinois Central

situation and the experiment of this new commission create an unusual opportunity to focus public attention upon the relation of the average toiler and the average big industrial corporation. We can prove that big business needs ethics and that captains of industry need ideals, if we are to conserve the happiness and welfare of the citizenship of America.

I therefore urge a meeting of the International Presidents representing the crafts involved in the "lock-out" on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines at a very early date. I shall be glad to present my plan. Time is very important. It is the essence of my plan. I do not need to urge the importance of having this cause the first cause heard by the new commission. The advantage in a publicity sense is self-evident. I have presented my plan to the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America at their 12th convention held in Milwaukee a few weeks ago and to the Illinois Central System Federation. The Brotherhood Railway Carmen Convention approved of the plan, although no action was taken. I did not ask action by the convention because I wanted to keep the matter from general public attention until it could be taken up and the plan worked out. The System Federation on the Illinois Central is enthusiastically in favor of the plan.

This letter is being sent to—

President Ryan of the B. R. C. of A.

President Johnston of the International Association of Machinists.

President Franklin of the Boilermakers.

President Kline of the Blacksmiths.

President Carrigan of the Railway Clerks.

President Hedrick of the Painters and Decorators.

Secretary John E. Bray of the sheet Metal Workers, and

President John J. Fitzpatrick of the Federal Labor Union.

I am directed by the officers of the System Federation to ask your early consideration of this proposal and the arrangement for a meeting of the International Presidents above mentioned at the earliest possible moment.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

FRANK COMERFORD.

The following is my reply to Mr. Comerford:

CLINTON, ILL., Oct. 16, 1913.

Dear Comerford: Your letter received and enclosure carefully noted. If you are loyally backed by the International officers an investigation of this strike by the commission will open the eyes of the people and benefit the entire labor movement. I have talked the matter over with a number of men and have written to others at different points, and everywhere I find that the men on strike appreciate the service you are rendering them and their cause.

I understand that the A. F. of L. Convention will take place some time next month in Seattle. The International Presidents will of course be there. In order to get our case before the commission as soon as possible you should go to Seattle for the convention and get a conference with the International officers of the crafts involved in this strike.

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If you cannot arrange for an immediate conference with the International Presidents, we cannot look for any rapid action in getting our case before the commission; therefore, give my suggestion regarding the Seattle convention full consideration.

Respectfully yours,

CARL E. PERSON.

Mr. Comerford replied as follows:

CHICAGO, Oct. 18, 1913.

My Dear Person: Most of the International Presidents from whom I have heard seem to be in favor of the plan to take the strike situation before the Industrial Relations Commission. The Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor will meet in Seattle on Nov. 8th. The convention of the American Federation of Labor opens on Nov. 10th. If this matter is to be brought to the attention of the Industrial Relations Commission definite work must be started at once. It will be necessary to make an application to the commission for a hearing and to arrange a plan of procedure and secure proof of our claims. Up to date I have been unable to secure anything from the International Presidents except words of approval. It will require money to do the work before us. The investigations we will be required to make must be paid for. I am willing to donate my time to the men on strike, but I cannot afford to give up my practice and at the same time finance an investigation of the strike situation.

I agree with you that it would be of advantage to present this matter to the General Presidents in Seattle and later present it to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled. The railroad fare from Chicago to Seattle is \$106. This does not include Pullman and meals, and the time coming and going will amount to at least a week, and I presume I will be compelled to stay in Seattle about a week. During this time my expenses and loss of business in Chicago will burden me. I hate to take anything from the men on strike. The International Presidents should provide the expense of my trip to Seattle if I am willing to give my time, but they show no inclination to do this. If the men on strike can afford to pay the expenses of the trip I am willing to contribute my time and leave for Seattle next week.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

FRANK COMERFORD.

To which I replied:

CLINTON, ILL., Oct. 22, 1913.

My Dear Comerford: I am glad that you will make the trip to Seattle for the men on strike. I am sure you will leave nothing undone to force the hand of the International Presidents to honestly co-operate with their own men who are being daily deserted by the very official that led them into the strike. Enclosed you will find check on expense account. This is all the money I can get together at the present time, but will be in a position to meet whatever the balance may be upon your return from Seattle.

Of course the men on strike should not be compelled to force this issue and bring about the investigation your plan promises, but as you know from your experiences with the International officers they are long on approving things and short on actually getting on the job. These people will not move in the interest of the men on strike unless they are forced to. The time has come in this strike that if we must expect anything from them we must drive them to it. If you expect to get results in Seattle or any other place in relation to your plan of taking our case through the commission, then go to Seattle prepared to pull off some rough stuff. *Start eating raw meat three times a day right now, and learn to speak the language of a policeman's club, for nothing else will wake them up.*

Depending on you to bring back results for the men on strike, I am,

Respectfully yours,

CARL E. PERSON.

Let us further hear from Mr. Comerford:

SEATTLE, WASH., Nov. 11, 1913.

My Dear Person: I have presented the plan to the Executive Council of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor and some of them object to the plan not because it is without merit but on the grounds that the commission will not give us a hearing. To me this seems far fetched. If the plan is a good one it is the duty of the Executive Council to use its influence to secure a hearing before the commission. Surely it is not the province of the representatives of the strikers to anticipate that the commission will deny us a hearing. This attitude would be expected on the part of the railroad company officials rather than from the Grand Lodge Presidents.

I have asked the Executive Council to secure for me the floor at a session of the convention. This they have promised to do. This will afford me an opportunity to present the matter to the delegates of the general convention.

Cordially yours,

FRANK COMERFORD.

SEATTLE, WASH., Nov. 16, 1913.

My Dear Person: I have presented the plan to the convention and I have had another meeting with the Executive Council of the Railway Employees' Department. They now promise to get back of the plan at least to the extent of asking Mr. Frank Walsh, the Chairman of the commission, for a hearing.

I am leaving for Chicago tonight.

Cordially,

FRANK COMERFORD.

The Grand Lodge Presidents and members of the commission with Attorney Comerford agreed at Seattle to lay the matter before Chairman Walsh of the commission. Later on

Mr. Comerford and Mr. Kline met Mr. Frank P. Walsh in Chicago and outlined to him the case and urged that if it was within the power of the commission to take up the investigation of the strike for to do so. Mr. Walsh, unlike the Grand Lodge officers, did not raise any question of the authority of the commission hearing the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike case, but told Comerford and Kline that the commission would be glad to consider the application for a hearing and he saw no reason why one should not be given.

Comerford laid his proposition of making an investigation of the strikes before the 1914 convention of the Railway Department and it was acted upon favorably. Here preparations were made to finance the cost of procuring such information and evidence as was desired by Comerford, so that the case could be placed before the commission properly and effectively. Shortly after this convention, a Grand Lodge representative was assigned to the different districts in the strike zone for the purpose of collecting evidence and data which would be of interest to the men on strike and their hearing before the commission.

Later, Mr. Comerford went to Washington and New York for the Federation and conferred with Chairman Walsh and other members of the commission, and finally brought about the investigation.

The commission took up the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike on April 7, 1913, and the records of the investigation are printed in Volume 10, pages 9699 to 100066 inclusive of the Industrial Relation Report.

The commission had no authority under the law creating it to write a judgment in favor of one side or the other, but this commission in its public hearings was attracting the attention of the public and the facts brought to light were important in the forming of public opinion. Had the Grand Lodge officers gotten back of the men on strike our investigation would have been held by the commission a year before it came to trial and if it had been heard a year earlier it is my opinion

that the financial condition of the railroad companies and the condition of its rolling stock, together with the public opinion of the time, would have forced the railroad companies to concede the single issue involved in the strike; namely, the right of the men on strike to deal with their employers on a collective basis.

Our evidence will now substantiate that it was the men on strike that sent Comerford to the Seattle Convention. I am adding the above correspondence to the records for the purpose of bringing this home clear to you. Then if Mr. Comerford's trip to Seattle was instrumental in laying the foundation for the investigation that eventually came up, the men on strike were responsible for the investigation taking place. Mr. Comerford gave the Federation the time that it required to make the trip, and the men on strike took their last dollar from their already depleted treasury to cover the expenses, while the Grand Lodge officers sat idly by and said that the commission would not consider an investigation of the strike.

The investigation of the strike brought out much information that even startled the labor movement. Some of the serious charges made by the men on strike against the railroad companies and their scabs went into the records of this investigation as undeniable facts. Railroad officials and labor leaders took the stand before the commission and added their story of the strike to the records of the investigation. There is, however, one important connection eliminated from the official report of the commission, and that is the fact that the investigation would never have taken place had it not been for the undying demand and agitation for the investigation carried on by Mr. Comerford and the men on strike.

The Grand Lodge officers' integrity to the cause and principles of federation were not questioned by the Federal commission, but I have proved to your satisfaction in these records that they were greater enemies to the federated movement and that which is called the law of collective bargaining than any railroad president that ever served an American railroad.

THE 1914 CONVENTION OF THE RAILROAD DEPARTMENT

In April, 1914, a convention of the Railway Department was held in Kansas City. The strikers were well represented at this convention, and resolutions that had for their purpose the financing of the strikes were introduced and carried, but never executed as far as financing the strike was concerned. (Reference, minutes Railroad Employees' Department, April 13-23, inclusive.) Those who wanted the strike called off were also there, but, after looking over the delegation of strikers, they concluded that the Kansas City convention of 1914 would not be a healthy resort to introduce a resolution calling off the strikes in progress.

Resolution No. 27 (reference, page 137, Minutes of Convention) was introduced, asking that the convention go on record as being favorable to the five per cent increase in freight rates that the railroads were asking for. In February, 1912, Mr. Markham of the Illinois Central had told Governor Brewer of Mississippi that out of the \$17,000,000 which the strike on the Illinois Central had cost him up to date, the other railroads had reimbursed him with \$15,000,000, and therefore the railroads who were not implicated in the strikes were now out asking the public to reimburse them for the money that they had sent to the managements of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines for the purpose of fighting organized labor. Mr. M. F. Ryan and all the other Grand Lodge Presidents in their circular letter sent to all local lodges under date of March 11, 1912, state "*that the strike was costing seven million per month (\$7,000,000) and that the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines are procuring this money from the other railroads.*" And here they came and asked a convention of those who were persecuted by these railroads to endorse a proposition that would not only reimburse them for all the money they had spent fighting organized labor, but would give them additional funds to make war upon organized labor in the future.

The Railroad Company's Resolution No. 27 is herewith quoted in full, as printed in the minutes of the Railway Department convention of April, 1914, and reads as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 27

(Referred to Resolution Committee)

KANSAS CITY, Mo., April 15, 1914.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Railroad Employees' Department
Now in Convention Assembled at Kansas City, Mo.:*

We, the undersigned, beg your most careful consideration and approval of the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The subject of granting a five per cent increase on freight rates to the railroads in the eastern half of the country has, and is, a very important topic and one which, if settled favorably to the railroads, will probably be the means of employing thousands of those who are unemployed at the present time; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that the opposition being made against the granting of this increase to the roads mentioned is largely conducted by the merchants and manufacturers throughout the country, composing employers who have never given labor anything but abuse, and who have always antagonized and crushed organized labor at every opportunity; they are the men who have filled our mines and sweatshops with half-paid, half-starved men, women and in many cases children. These men give more care to their mules than they do the human beings in their employ. While, on the other hand, it can be shown that the railroads in general, with a few exceptions, have for the past 10 years at least paid a higher rate of pay with better working conditions to their employees than the men who are now opposing an increase to the railroads; and,

WHEREAS, Under the system that we are now living it behooves the workers to secure for themselves the best possible rate of pay and working conditions; we deem it advisable to go on record as favoring this increase to the railroads on the grounds that we can continue to expect not only fair treatment but better pay from the managements who have shown fairness to the many thousands of our members on the railroads in this country. The present strikes we now have on some roads should not prevent us from endeavoring to assist the companies that are friendly to us. Many of our members at home feel that the time to assist the railroad companies has arrived and that the adverse legislation against the railroads has got to a place where the cost of maintenance of the railroads has increased out of proportion to their revenues, and that the time is now ripe for organized labor to turn the guns on the merchants and manufacturers and compel them to do business with as much publicity and regulation as we have forced on the railroads. As shops employes, we can now make one step for our own interests by copying the action of the Brotherhood in matters of this nature. Therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record as favoring the proposed five per cent increase in freight rates to the railroads; and be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the Railroad Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. be instructed to draft a letter and same

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to be sent to the Interstate Commerce Commission, advising them that this department favors the granting of said increase.

GEO. T. MARTIN, Machinist, C., M. & St. P.
 FELIX EKLUND, Machinist, C., B. & Q.
 H. W. LIBBY, Machinist, C. & N. W.
 J. F. AYLWARD, Machinist, A. C. L. Federation.
 W. K. GOODYEAR, Machinist, A. C. L.
 P. S. SMITH, Sheet Metal Worker, Rock Island.
 I. S. EVANS, Boilermaker, K. C. S.
 FRANK MUNIER, Machinist, M., K. & T.
 H. J. CARR, Machinist, Rock Island.
 MARTIN F. RYAN, President B. R. C. of A.
 O. E. HOARD, Sheet Metal Worker, M. P.
 W. A. MANSEN, Machinist, C., M. & St. P. (Puget Sound Lines).
 H. L. COOLBAUGH, Carman, C., M. & St. P. (Puget Sound Lines).
 GEO. W. PRING, Boilermaker, Rock Island.
 JOHN JOHNSTON, Carman, C., M. & St. P.
 JOHN I. CASS, Carman, C. & N. W.
 S. L. WATTS, Carman, M. P.

Your Committee on Resolutions beg leave to submit Resolution No. 27 to the consideration of this convention without any recommendation.

Delegate W. F. Holley of Machinists moved the adoption of the report of the Resolutions Committee. (Seconded by Buhre of Blacksmiths.)

The resolution was discussed by Vice President Farnam of Clerks and Delegate Thigpen of Carmen, both opposing the resolution.

Vice President Hannon of Machinists moved to table the resolution. (Seconded.)

The Chair ruled that the introducers of a resolution had a right to speak on their resolution before such a motion could be entertained.

President Ryan of Carmen spoke in support of the resolution.

Question being raised as to the Chair's decision on the motion to table by permitting debate after the motion was made and seconded, President Wharton quoted from Roberts' Rule of Order to sustain his ruling, and Delegate VanLear detailed a precedent which had been established in the A. F. of L. Convention by President Gompers in a similar situation.

The resolution was further discussed by:

Delegate Carr of Machinists (supporting).

Vice President Pring of the Department (supporting).

Delegate Bonham of Carmen (opposing).

Delegate Eklund of Machinists (supporting).

Vice President Hoard of Sheet Metal Workers (supporting).

Delegate Cundiff of Boilermakers (opposing).

Whereupon the convention adjourned until 2:00 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., President Wharton in the chair.

Vice President Farnam of the Railway Clerks asked for the floor to apologize in the event that any expressions used in his speech at the morning session had wounded the feelings of anyone on the opposite side of the question he was discussing.

President Wharton stated that the question before the house was the motion to adopt Resolution No. 27.

The resolution was discussed by Delegate Forrester of Railway Clerks (supporting).

Delegate Mallory of Carmen (supporting).

Delegate Cooley of Machinists (supporting).

Delegate Scopes of Machinists (supporting).

Delegate Molloy of Machinists (opposing).

Vice President Gallagher of Carmen (opposing).

Machinist Glenn of I. C. strikers (permission of the convention being granted) (opposing).

Vice President Ames of the Machinists made the following amendment: "That this convention adopt the resolution before the house with the following understanding, that the Executive Council of the Railroad Employees' Department of the A. F. of L., if possible, meet the General Managers' Association and assure them of their full support in assisting the railroads in getting a 5 per cent increase in freight rates, provided they give us as a whole justice and fair treatment by causing a settlement of the Illinois Central Railroad and Harriman Lines, Pere Marquette and M. O. & G. strikes, and in case our Executive Council receives a refusal on the part of the General Managers, then it be the sense of this body that this Railroad Department communicate to every lodge of every craft of the Railroad Department and request them to petition the Interstate Commerce Commission to refuse an increase in freight rates until all railroads of this country treat fairly with their employes, namely, the Illinois Central, Harriman Lines, Pere Marquette and M. O. & G. (Seconded.)"

Delegate Sohner of Boilermakers suggested including the name of the Big Four road. President Wharton stated if there was no objection it could be understood to include all struck roads.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Somerville of Machinists (opposing).

Delegate Perry of Machinists (opposing).

Delegate Buhre of Blacksmiths (supporting).

Delegate Collins of Carmen (supporting).

Vice President Nicholson of Machinists (supporting).

Delegate Garvey of Boilermakers (supporting).

Delegate Molloy of Machinists moved as an amendment to the amendment that the entire subject matter be referred to President and Executive Council of the Department. (Seconded.)

The resolution was discussed by President Johnston of the Machinists (supporting).

Delegate Dowling of Machinists spoke in favor of the amendment to the amendment.

Delegate Maes of Boilermakers opposed the amendment to the amendment.

Delegate Hicks of Carmen moved as a substitute for the whole that the subject matter be tabled. (Seconded.)

On point of order by President Franklin, the Chair ruled the motion out of order.

President Ryan of the Carmen asked for an expression from the Chair on the resolution.

President Wharton said: "I see they are bound to put me on record. I am not going to call the Vice President to the chair, because I am not going to speak very long. I believe the question has been discussed very thoroughly pro and con. I desire to present the following for your consideration: I venture to say, if we would poll the delegates of this convention who have acted in the capacity of Chairmen or members of Agreement Committees, that about 85 per cent of these men would tell you, if they told the truth, that they have made the statements the Grand Lodge officers have told you they have made in the last few conferences they have held. Now, I don't believe we have anything to fear in going on record in favor of what I consider one of the fairest industries to organized labor that we have in this country. I am not ashamed to make that declaration. I have made it in other places; I will make it here, and I will make it after I leave here, that, notwithstanding the fact we have had fights with railroads, we must still remember that the largest per cent of the men of the organizations represented in this department are working under agreements in the railroad industry. Can you say that of the representatives of the Manufacturers' Association, who have for the past 10 years at least and are now actively engaged in opposing every bit of labor legislation that has been introduced in every state and territory and the United States Congress? They have spent, if we know anything about it, some millions of dollars in defeating every piece of legislation that has been introduced that is favorable to organized labor. Right in the *Strike Bulletin* that was handed around today you will find an item where the Manufacturers' Association of Illinois, Wisconsin, and I believe some other state has gone out and tried to stop the appointment of a man who is well known to be favorable to organized labor from acting as one of the men appointed by the Industrial Relations Commission to make an investigation into the industrial discontent of this country. These men have spent their money in that way, we all know. We know further that we owe to the Manufacturers' Association, I believe, the most damnable system that has ever been introduced into this or any other country—the spy system. Your organizations, and you know it, are loaded with the paid emissaries of the Manufacturers' Association. These men receive their salaries from funds accumulated by members of that association and are put into your organization for the special purpose of disrupting your movement. As between the question of voting in favor of the increase for the railroads and standing neutral, which would result in the favor of forces that have been antagonistic to our movement from the time of its inception, I cannot see where there can be any question as to the honesty of any man who gets up and declares his convictions in favor of an employer who so far has proven of all large industries the most fair to the members of these trades."

A sufficient number calling for the previous question, it was put to vote and carried.

The amendment to the amendment was lost.

The amendment carrying with it the subject matter of the resolution was put to a viva voce vote, and the Chair being in doubt asked for a vote by raising of hands, which resulted after count by the Secretary, as follows:

Affirmative, 54 votes; negative, 46 votes.

The Chair declared the amendment adopted, carrying the subject matter of the resolution with it.

Delegate Coley of Machinists demanded a roll call, but was not joined in the demand by a sufficient number of delegates.

The following delegates requested to be recorded as opposing the resolution: S. B. Coley, A. R. Gisslen and Thomas Scopes.

Wm. Sohner of Boilermakers desired to be recorded as voting in favor of the resolution.

The resolution committee announced that they had completed their report.

Delegate Libby of Machinists moved that 3 o'clock Monday afternoon be made special order of business the matter of hearing from the present status of the strikes on the various roads on which strike is now pending.

(Seconded and carried.)

Whereupon the convention adjourned until Monday morning April 20, 1914, at 9 o'clock.

This resolution was the biggest and most important resolution before the convention. It took up more time and its subject matter was the cause of more extensive debate than the strikes in progress on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. It did not meet with any serious objection until a well-groomed, gray-haired gentleman by the name of S. B. Glenn, a striker from Freeport, Ill., who had come down for the convention on the rods of a freight train, arose to the floor and spoke in opposition to the motion and, after an eloquent speech, quoted railroad statistics from the *Strike Bulletin* (a paper then an authority on railroad statistics) as his authority for the financial condition of the railroads, and the amount of money they were spending on the roads on strike to fight organized labor. The resolution finally carried by a vote of 54 for the motion and 46 against the motion, which proved that the railroad companies had more delegates at the convention than organized labor, for they jammed their legislation through.

The Johnston-Wharton-Ryan machine was very well represented as supporting the Railroad Managers' Resolution No. 27. The only available records anywhere among the official families of the Railway Department as opposing the Railroad Managers' Resolution are found in the May issue of the *Blacksmiths' Journal* for 1914, which can best speak for itself, and reads as follows:

BETTER LET THE RAILROADS FIGHT THEIR OWN BATTLES

The Second Biennial Convention of the Railroad Department of the American Federation of Labor has passed into history and its success will depend upon the sincerity and aggressive activity of the rank and file, as well as the officers. The Federation adjourned about the time of our going to press, therefore, we will be unable to print many details. We wish to say, however, that we believe that this convention was an important one, as our constitution has been changed materially and the United States and Canada districted so that each district will be managed separately, while at the same time the department will have general oversight.

This system is practically the same as the resolution passed at our last convention in Sedalia, and we believe that it is an improvement. No set of officers will be successful without the co-operation of those who make up the organization, and it is unfair to those elected to office to expect them to carry on the work of the organization without our hearty co-operation, and I hope our Brotherhood will try to keep in close touch with this office, so that the International official who is a member of the Executive Council of the department may do his part towards making the department a success.

Possibly one of the mistakes of the convention was a resolution introduced by several delegates favoring a petition to the Interstate Commerce Commission for a raise in railroad freight rates. The arguments both for and against undoubtedly were the honest sentiments of those who expressed themselves along that line. We do not all think alike. There is an argument on both sides of the question, but we are of the opinion that the railroads will be able to fight their own battles, and if we may judge by the horoscope of the past, they will get all that is coming to them.

With the railroads on one side appealing to their employes for assistance, and the Manufacturers' Association on the other doing likewise, the United States Steel Corporation and kindred organizations intimidating their employes politically and these giants striving for mastery, it would be pretty hard for a general officer representing the employees in these combines to decide just how to vote. However, workingmen as a general proposition are getting better treatment from the General Managers than they are from the opposite managements. At the same time, an increase in freight rates is taking it out of one pocket and putting it into the other, for the interlocking directorate controls the industries of the country, and the coin finally finds its way back into the pockets of about the same individuals.

It is true that we have a number of splendid men in the railroad business. We would like to help them in every legitimate way, but the same interlocking directorate ties their hands and while it is true they would favor the employees, the System that controls them sets the limit. Mr. Kruttschnitt was appealed to in California in the interests of his employees for the sake of their wives and children as well as the commercial interests of the West, but he persistently and absolutely ignored the interests of humanity and autocratically refused to meet his employees jointly for the purpose of transacting their annual business. Therefore, the Harriman managers could hardly expect their employees to work themselves up into a frenzy in helping their railroads to a further increase in freight rates.

The Illinois Central Railroad aroused such enthusiasm among their employees in Illinois that they scrambled into a train and were taken to Springfield to lobby in the interests of the Illinois Central. They returned to their homes and scrambled out of the train and were delighted with themselves, until a month or two later when the same federated bunch that had been transported to Springfield and back asked the same Illinois Central Railroad for a federated agreement and a penny or two an hour advance, and they were told by the Illinois Central manager (figuratively speaking) that the company was willing to use them for good lobbyists, but they were opposed to putting more bread and butter into the pantries of their employees. Of course, we would hardly expect that the employees of the Illinois Central Railroad would work themselves up into hysterics in favoring a raise of freight rates.

The Pennsylvania Railroad, who has an everlasting hatred for trades unions, would hardly expect what few union men they have to petition the Government officials for a raise in freight rates. And so we might go on and cite many cases where railroads have been as tyrannical as the United States Steel Corporation. There are a good many angles to this question. What we have received from the railroads has not been given us voluntarily by any means. We repeat, that while we have a goodly number of good railroad men, they are subordinate to the bad ones and unable to do any more for their employees than the bad ones permit.

A resolution from the Strikers' Local Federation at Memphis, Tenn., known as Resolution No. 4, requesting the Railway Department to finance the strikes on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, was introduced at the 1914 convention of the Railway Department. This resolution was endorsed by the convention, but was never enforced insofar as the strike being financed by the Railway Department.

The railroad companies' henchmen were also at this convention with a resolution to call off the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes. After they had sized up the rebels, they came to the conclusion that the convention of the Railway Department would not be a healthy resort in which to introduce anything that had for its purpose the surrendering of the principles that the men were out on strike for, and therefore kept their already written and prepared resolutions under cover.

To best determine the forces at work in the under-currents at this time, insofar as declaring the strikes off, it will be well to mention a resolution introduced by C. T. Nicholson, Exec-

utive Board member of the Machinists, at the Executive Board meeting of the Machinists held in Washington, D. C., in January, 1914 (reference, minutes of General Executive Board, I. A. of M., January, 1914, page 13).

ILLINOIS CENTRAL AND HARRIMAN LINES STRIKE

The International President stated that at the convention of the A. F. of L. several resolutions had been introduced by our delegates urging the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and the Industrial Relations Commission to make inquiry into the status of the strike; that it had been claimed this duty was somewhat foreign to the purpose of the commissions, although he (the International President) pointed out that they had made similar investigations in the textile industries. He informed the Board that Brother O'Connell had promised to do the best he could in our behalf, and that he had the assurance of President Gompers of his support in the right direction.

The question of this strike was fully reviewed by the Board in all its details, especial prominence being given to the question of possibility of success and the futility of further continuance.

Brother Nicholson stated that he had a resolution drawn up which he thought would cover the case, and submitted the following:

WHEREAS, The Harriman Lines and Illinois Central Systems have been on strike for the past two years, and that we, the members of the G. E. B., are continually receiving communications from our members involved at different points on both systems requesting information in connection with the strike; and

WHEREAS, Said members of the Board were not in position to furnish such information, and believing that the strike has been dragging along for some time with an apparent lack of interest on the part of certain of the organizations involved (outside of the I. A. of M.);

Resolved, That we believe it time for us to take such steps as may seem best in handling the situation; therefore be it

Resolved, That the International President be instructed to take steps at once to bring together all International Presidents of all crafts involved, along with their respective general executive board and such vice presidents as have been in charge of the strike, together with representative strikers from each organization from important struck points;

That all of the foregoing meet at some central point and go into executive session and there devise plans to either put new life in the strike, or to bring same to an early conclusion."

Resolution adopted.

It will be well to note that Executive Board Member Nicholson had prearranged his resolution for the meeting of the Executive Board of the Machinists. The history of this gentleman, as taken during the strike, indicates that he was

always strong for an early conclusion of the strike, even to the extent of prostituting the Machinists' organization in arriving at this "early conclusion."

Mr. Nicholson's resolution makes an important exhibit in the records because it substantiates my many frequent charges against the International officers and organizations involved in this strike in relation to the charges I have made that they took no interest in the strike from its inception, insofar as making the strike effective was concerned; that they did not know anything about the strike and cared much less, for, as Mr. Nicholson states in his resolution, "that we, the members of the G. E. B., are continually receiving communications from members involved at different points on both systems requesting information in connection with the strike; and whereas, said members of the Board were not in a position to furnish such information."

Mr. Nicholson and the entire Executive Board, including International President Johnston, makes this admission of ignorance on the strike situation, and in the resolution admit that here in January, 1914, the strike is a dead issue, in view of the fact that they were employing three Business Agents on the struck roads for the specific purpose of keeping Mr. Johnston and his Executive Board informed on the strike situation. For this service paid H. J. Molloy as Business Agent on the Illinois Central, approximately \$7,929.11; Samuel Grace, Business Agent on the Union Pacific, \$6,151.38; and J. G. Taylor, Business Agent on the Southern Pacific, \$2,849.12 for services rendered during the the strike (reference, General Secretary Preston's financial reports). These Business Agents furnished Mr. Johnston weekly reports on the strike situation and monthly reports for the *Machinists' Journal*.

At this very Executive Board meeting in January, 1914, Mr. Nicholson, as well as the entire Board members, were in possession of the *Machinists' Journal* for January, 1914, which carried a report of the strike by H. J. Molloy, on page 69,

under caption, "Memphis, Tenn.," in which he stated that he had made Chicago, St. Louis, Champaign, Urbana and Rankin—all of which are terminal points on the Illinois Central—and adds that the railroad company is up against it with its equipment in a dilapidated condition.

In the same issue of the *Machinists' Journal*, Business Agent J. G. Taylor, of the Southern Pacific, says on page 73, under caption, "Sacramento, Cal.," that he has recently made the coast terminals of the struck roads and that as far as the Southern Pacific is concerned, it is gradually getting worse.

In the same issue of the *Machinists' Journal*, Vice President Wm. Hannon states on page 46 "that International President Johnston and himself addressed mass-meetings of the strikers at Portland, Ore.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Oakland, Cal.," these being the largest terminal points on the Harriman Lines.

International Vice President Anderson stated on page 45 of the same issue of the *Journal* that he was in Chicago, Ill., and down on the Illinois Central as far as Kankakee and Bloomington, Ill.

And in view of the foregoing, Mr. Nicholson sat in as an Executive Board member with this issue of the *Machinists' Journal* in his pocket and several copies on the table in front of him, confessing that he had no information on the strike situation. International President Johnston, fresh from his tour of the large terminal points on the Harriman Lines, in which he had made flowery speeches on the strike situation, sat there and said nothing.

The Executive Board members seemed not to have been possessed of enough common sense to look in the *Journal* for information on the situation. If they did read the reports in the *Journal*, written by their own representatives, such information must have been accepted by them as doubtful, and not of enough reliability to render to those whom Mr. Nicholson states were writing in to the Board members for information. What becomes evident, then, is that they had several kinds of

information for the different grades of membership—one kind for those who accepted articles in the *Journal* as the truth, and another kind of information for those that wrote directly to the Board members.

Taking it for granted that Molloy, Taylor, Hannon and others told us the truth in the January issue for 1914 of the *Machinists' Journal*, as well as President Johnston, when he was preaching the sermon of the all for one and one for all to the boys on strike at Oakland, Portland, Salt Lake City, and Seattle, just a few weeks before this time, then the strike was very much of a live issue and the railroads on the very verge of bankruptcy. But as Board Member Nicholson and his associates on the Executive Board, including President Johnston, refused to accept any of this information (that it cost them thousands of dollars to procure through their representatives) as being worth anything insofar as dispatching it to those who were writing in for information, Mr. Nicholson introduced his resolution that had for its purpose the securing of other sources of information, as well as the all-important theme—the early conclusion of the strike.

The Machinists' Executive Board meeting took place in January, 1914, and the convention of the Railway Department in the following April; therefore, the purpose of Mr. Nicholson's resolution at the January meeting of the Board was to lay a foundation for a well-prepared and oiled machine to be on the grounds at the April convention of the Railway Department. Their purpose was to materialize Mr. Nicholson's early conclusion of the strike at the Railway Department convention.

As Mr. Nicholson's resolution states that no other organizations were taking an interest in the strike but the I. A. of M., then the other organizations affiliated with the Railway Department stand convicted by Mr. Nicholson as deserting the men on strike. I have already proven in these records that the sincerity of both the Machinists' Executive Board and those termed as "the other organization" by Mr. Nicholson

can be questioned, we are not concerned any further than to say that the motive back of Mr. Nicholson's indictment against the other organizations was to make the Machinists believe that they were the only organization taking an interest in the strike, so that the Machinists would then accept a craft settlement of the strike as a logical and early conclusion of same. They would have demanded an exclusive Machinists' settlement of the strike or give it up as a lost cause.

And this well-oiled machine, full of deceit and corruption, was conspicuous at the Railway Department convention in April, but for reasons best known to themselves, *did not introduce their resolutions calling for an early conclusion of the strike*. To this end they could not have feared that they would not have sufficient support, so far as delegates were concerned, for, as I have already proven, the railroads were well represented there, even to the large extent of jamming their freight rate legislation through. Had the machine introduced its resolution calling for an early conclusion of the strike, sufficient support could have been rallied to put it over in accordance with their constitution, and this would have taken place had it not been for the fact that anyone who had been foolish enough to take the responsibility for its introduction would have fallen out head first from the windows of the convention hall. The rebels who were there, while but few, were there to take extreme measures, if necessary, to avoid a possible sell-out at that time.

For the reasons as outlined, Mr. Nicholson's early conclusions of the strike were not materialized at the April convention of the Railway Department, and what is more important, is the fact that in failing in this respect, his substitute, that of inaugurating new life and action in the strike, was given no further consideration. Both the Machinists' Executive Board and the Railway Department were short on injecting new life into the strike. What else could have been expected from those who were praying for its early conclusions at any price?

A ST. LOUIS CONFERENCE WITH MR. WHARTON

During the last week of October, 1914, I received a letter from the President of the Railroad Department (Mr. Wharton), requesting me to come to St. Louis, stating that my expenses for the trip would be paid. Mr. J. J. Meagher, who had been acting Secretary for the Illinois Central Federation since December 30, 1913, when I was arrested and taken to jail, agreed to accompany me to St. Louis for this meeting with Mr. Wharton. Meagher, who is a shrewd and well-balanced individual, thought that there might be something started within the chambers of the Railway Department, and being mindful of the small support we had received through it, suggested that if Mr. Wharton proposed to put a wet blanket on the strike, he would agree with whatever the proposition was, but I should stand pat. Had we both taken the stand against Mr. Wharton, he would have given up before the opportunity had presented itself to "draw him out" and get the sentiment of the "inner circle."

We met Mr. Wharton in his office, and his statement to us was that the Executive Council of the Department had decided to cut off the strike benefits from the men on the line, but it would be unjust to do so without first giving them an opportunity to declare the strike off, if they so desired. In order to get the sentiment of the men on strike, they had decided to take a vote on the proposition, as well as inform the men that their strike benefits were to be cut off. Mr. Meagher asked Mr. Wharton what concessions the companies had made the Department, and he said, "*none whatever.*"

"If the companies have not made any concessions, why should the strike be declared off," I asked.

"Well, the men will determine this by taking the vote," replied Wharton.

Meagher, now mindful of our agreement, coincided with Wharton by stating "that of course the vote will determine this."

I said, "If the Grand Lodge could not finance the few men on the line, they can desert them financially, if they so wish, but to cut off the strike benefits was nothing but a wedge used to induce the strikers to declare the strike off, and that it was no doubt the desire of the Grand Lodge officers to have this done."

"Well," said Wharton, "the rule of majority must settle this question; it must be settled in compliance with the law of democracy, and the rule of those that are affected."

"Democracy had her inning on the 30th day of September, 1911, when it was decided, once and for all, by the men themselves, and approved by the International Officer, that these men or officers had no right to surrender the principle that they went on strike for, if they were the sacred principles of labor. They were either wrong in 1911 or they are dead wrong now by even asking the men to consider such a proposition," was my reply.

"What do you think of it, Meagher," said Wharton.

Meagher said, "I think you are justified in your position."

"Look here, Person," said Wharton, "here is Meagher, your best friend, and he thinks it is the proper thing to do." Then he turned around and looked me squarely in the face, leaned over and said, "*We have stood with you.* The Department has gone the limit for your defense. If it hadn't been for the support you received, they would have *hung you, and you know it.* Now, we want this proposition to go through, and we don't want the men swayed one way or the other by *any publicity* on the subject; we want them to use their own cool judgment, and they will decide in their best interests."

Meagher sat there playing his part like an artist, agreeing with Wharton.

"*My defense, Mr. Wharton, is an entirely different matter,*" I replied. "If those that subscribed to my defense fund did so with the expectations that I should *surrender* my best judgment of what is *right and wrong*, I am indeed very sorry. I had burned the midnight oil for the cause 23 months before

I went to jail, and besides, didn't I stand my ground and defend the *respectability* of the movement when the scabs drove in to drive the strikers out of town? I am sure that those who subscribed to my defense fund did so because of the *service rendered them up to that time*, and while it is possible that there may be a difference of opinion among these subscribers on the subject of voting on the strike question at this time, it would have been much *better had I been hung for the want of the necessary support than to go wrong on this proposition now.*"

"Oh, there is nothing you can go wrong on; just keep the noise out of the '*Bulletin*,'" said Wharton, and added, "You have got more irresponsibles writing in the *Bulletin* than any paper that ever existed; why, that man Cundiff in Chicago is as crazy as you are," he said, as his hand came down on the desk, "and the reports from Oakland and Portland, there isn't an issue of the *Bulletin* but what is criminal libel, and they don't know what they are talking about when they say things about the Grand Lodge officers."

"The *Strikers' Bulletin* belongs to the men on the line and its subscribers, and it must remain as a medium for them to express themselves in, and you know, Mr. Wharton, we labor people are strong for *free speech* and *free press*."

"*There can be nothing free for the irresponsibles,*" was Wharton's sharp reply, and added, "An editor of a paper should use a little judgment of what he sends out to his readers."

"Yes, I understand, Mr. Wharton; you think that I should tell those that write in the *Bulletin* what they should say and what they should not say, and if they say something that I don't believe or approve of, I should swing it into the wastebasket and write them that there is nothing doing in that kind of stuff, because it is not my religion, politics or form of unionism. There are all kinds of those papers and journals in the labor movement—'*the kept and censored press*,' which are run for the benefit of the machines; in fact, there is no more

freedom of speech, and freedom of the press in the labor movement and in labor papers than there is anywhere else. The only reason that the *Strike Bulletin* lets everybody ride is because I am in favor of an open press, regardless of whom it may favor or disfavor. I have gone to jail twice for criminal libel for letting those ride that couldn't take a ride in any other paper, and I will go again, if it is necessary to do so, in the interest of a free press. But, Mr. Wharton, we were talking on the strike vote proposition."

"Yes," said Wharton, "if the strike is called off, we can go over the system and *organize* the *strike-breakers*, and we will get agreements with those roads again."

Well, I said, "*Then you are going to sacrifice the union men that put up this fight for the sake of getting per capita tax from the scabs, so that you can build up your treasury. That's a fine situation, isn't it?*"

"The best thing to do is to declare off the strike; then union men can get a job on the roads, and in a short time we will have a good organization, and can go up for another agreement," said Wharton.

"Why didn't you do this on the Santa Fe, the L. & N., and the Great Western, with some of the other railroads where you have no agreements and can get none? If it is the sole desire of union labor to build up their treasuries and sacrifice all principles to accomplish this end, and your plan as outlined is successful, then all the labor leaders should be discharged for incompetency, for the Santa Fe and the other railroads will speak for themselves.

"Ten years since you people went up there and surrendered everything you pulled the men out on strike for, and you haven't got enough union men on either of these roads to turn the tires for a switch engine, and even though you have no agreements, and can get none. Here you sit and try to tell me that you are going to organize the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, by declaring the strikes off. Give the companies credit for having some sense; they have not spent all

of this money so recklessly, that after you go back on your knees and admit that you are licked, that they will let you come in again, knowing that your intentions are to build up an organization and go after them again. Nothing doing! They won't let you in in the first place, and if the men are yellow enough to try and get in and haven't got nerve enough to take their medicine, even though they cannot lick the companies, then I am done, for I have then found out that I have stood with a bunch of yellows instead of union men."

"Well, the strikes can't be won," replied Wharton.

"If the strikes cannot be won, then let them be lost," was my reply. "After we have put up a good fight, don't ask us to make any apologies by declaring the strike off, for this will be admitting that we were wrong and will weaken the labor movement on the other railroads. If we cannot win, then let us leave the lines as unfair to us and organized labor, as they were on September 30, 1911, when the International officers said that we would wreck their organization if we didn't go out and put up a fight for the respectability of the Federation. We have now done all this, paid the price, and willing to pay any additional cost of the proceeding, *but the price of disrespect*. If the Executive Board of the Railway Department is now going to crown us with a traitor's tribute for playing the part that we willingly and honestly played, that you may go into the ranks of those that you once pronounced traitors, to collect the "*filthy lucre*," *my God! where are your principles, Mr. Wharton?*"

"Your young and foolish Grand Lodge officers know what is best to do," was Wharton's sharp reply, "and, besides, the strike was ill advised."

"Yes," I said, "if we were *ill advised in 1911*, we were ill advised by the *very same Grand Lodge officers* that are making an effort to *advise us now*. That being true, can we place any dependence in them now? If they did as you stated make a mistake in 1911, then have we not the right to question their integrity and judgment at this time?" (Meagher was

now walking the floor; I was afraid he was going to forget his place, but he didn't; he played the part of a regular diplomat.)

"We have thousands of men walking the streets," said Wharton, and continued: "They could get a job on the struck lines, and Sam Grace of Omaha is willing to go along, as well as J. G. Taylor, from the coast. They said that if the Grand Lodge officers think this is the proper way to do, they are willing to abide by their judgment."

"There have always been men walking the streets and I assume always will be," I answered. "There were men walking the streets in search for work when we were advised to go on strike, but there are less men on the streets today than there have been for a good many years, and, further, the union men on the streets will find nothing on the struck lines, even though the strike is declared off, for you can depend on C. H. Markham and Julius Kruttschnitt to stand with those that stood with them, and that is all we are asking from the Grand Lodge officers that we stood with. Let them show that they are as true to us as Markham and Kruttschnitt are to their strike-breakers. But from all indications they are going to dump us, and if they do, it is they that are the traitors, and I know a few soldiers on the line that cannot be induced to declare the strike off. I am going to have something to tell them in the next week's issue of the *Strike Bulletin*; further, they will have the opportunity to express themselves any way they see fit on this proposition in the *Strike Bulletin*, just as they have had on all other subjects of the strike."

"It is too bad the men could not be given a chance to use their best judgment on this vote, without being influenced one way or the other," said Mr. Wharton.

Then Mr. Meagher and myself departed for home, fully convinced that the Grand Lodge officers wanted the strike called off, but inasmuch as they have always preached the bible of democracy and the rule of the majority, they could not declare the strike off themselves, without demonstrating that they ruled in compliance with monarchy, instead of democracy. There-

fore, they were going to ask the strikers themselves to relieve them of this embarrassment by voting to declare the strike off.

THE GRAND LODGE PRESIDENT'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT

Something had taken place within the chambers of the Railway Department shortly before Meagher and myself received the invitation to call on Mr. Wharton. They had agreed that the strike should be called off, but decided to submit this proposition to the membership involved. There was, however, one matter contained in this proposition that the Grand Lodge Presidents who make up the executive council of the Railway Department decided for themselves, and that was that all strike benefits should be discontinued at once.

No one outside of the Railway Department was aware of what was to take place until the proposition was mailed to the local lodges. Mr. Wharton, who was delegated to "break the news to me," did not do so until the very day this proposition was placed into the mails, so that in the event I could not be induced "to come along" my time to organize an opposition movement would be as short as possible. Upon my return from St. Louis after the conference with Mr. Wharton I had received a circular letter setting forth the proposition as submitted by the Railway Department, which I introduce herewith:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

Office of Grand Lodge—404-407 McGill Building

OFFICIAL CIRCULAR No. 48

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 31, 1914.

TO ALL OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED ON THE STRIKES ON THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL, HARRIMAN LINES AND PERE MARQUETTE RAILROADS.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: The strikes on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines have been in effect since September 30, 1911, and on the Pere Marquette since the latter part of May, 1913. The history of these strikes is replete with incidents reflecting great credit upon the thousands of men who voted to withdraw their services from the roads mentioned,

in defense of the principles for which all organized labor stands. In all great struggles many sacrifices are made and much suffering endured, not only by the strikers, but those who are dependent upon them. The hardships endured and sacrifices made emphasize better than words can portray the loyalty and tenacity of these members and have demonstrated to the highest degree the justice of the cause for which they fought.

Both the men and officers have at various times been severely criticized for things that were done or not done, as the case might be. This is to be expected when men are involved in a struggle so intensely acute. We have learned to look upon these expressions with tolerance and forbearance, knowing that better judgment will prevail when the participants have had an opportunity to calmly review the facts.

No man placed at the head of an organization ever had a more unpleasant duty to perform than that of conveying to the membership the information that we have reached the end of our financial resources, with the struggle still on.

We have been both complimented and condemned for permitting these strikes to continue, with no apparent or tangible reason to believe that we would be able to reach a satisfactory adjustment. Nothing that honorable men could do to bring about an adjustment has been neglected or overlooked. Facing a situation of this kind, with thousands of our members walking the streets due to the widespread industrial depression, and no prospect of conditions improving in the immediate future, it must be apparent to all that it will be impossible to continue financial assistance under these conditions, and while we expect criticism from certain individuals, we believe that the great majority of our members will agree with the action taken.

As much as we regret to do so, it now becomes our duty, not only to those who have so loyally and faithfully remained on the picket line, but to the many thousands of our members who have been morally and financially supporting these strikes, and in so doing many of them have been compelled to suffer the passing of opportunities of benefiting themselves, because our organizations could not assume further financial obligations; owing to these and other valid reasons, it has been decided absolutely necessary that we notify all strikers on the above roads that further financial assistance will be discontinued on and after December 1, 1914.

Many inquiries have been made as to the probable effect of our placing the facts, as applied to these strikes, before the Industrial Relations Commission. We say now, as we always have, that in our opinion these hearings will not in any manner have a direct bearing on bringing about an adjustment of the strikes. The Industrial Relations Commission has no authority to either adjust a strike or in any manner act as a mediator in an impending strike, its duties being defined in the act creating the commission, and confined to that of conducting hearings for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of industrial unrest, and to recommend remedial legislation. Many of our members seem to have formed the opinion that this commission had the authority to adjust industrial disputes. This is not the case. Nothing can be expected in this respect other than our ability to prove the unfairness of these railroads, which, in so doing, will lend to the enactment of laws that will protect us in the future.

PRESIDENT'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT 269

In view of the notice of our inability to continue financial assistance after December 1, 1914, we believe the men directly involved should be given an opportunity to decide whether or not the strike should be continued under these conditions.

Notwithstanding the expected criticism from this action, your officers herewith submit a ballot, which shall be filled out and returned to the headquarters of your respective organizations.

With the object in view of reaching all of the men who came out on strike, this communication, together with sufficient ballots, is being sent to every local lodge in the jurisdiction of our respective organizations.

Only men who came out on strike on the roads herein mentioned shall be entitled to vote on this question.

This vote shall be returnable to your respective headquarters not later than November 23, 1914.

Faternally and respectfully submitted,

WM. H. JOHNSTON,
International President.

WM. H. JOHNSTON, President Machinists.

J. A. FRANKLIN, President Boilermakers.

JAS. W. KLINE, President Blacksmiths.

MARTIN F. RYAN, President Carmen.

J. J. HAYNES, President Sheet Metal Workers.

A. O. WHARTON, President R. E. Department.

After reading the foregoing letter and fortified with the information secured in the conference with Mr. Wharton I commenced to organize a movement of opposition against this proposition as submitted by the Railway Department, and in addition used the *Strike Bulletin* to advantage in procuring the best possible results. I am, therefore, introducing several editorials as published in the *Strike Bulletin* on this subject, which will indicate what success Mr. Wharton had in persuading me to "come along." They read as follows:

STRIKE BULLETIN

Clinton, Ill., Nov. 4, 1914.

SHALL WE CALL THE STRIKE OFF?

The Strike Bulletin belongs to the agitators in the Labor movement. I am their servant.

The Executive Council of the Railroad Department of the American Federation of Labor in a recent conference in Kansas City, decided to do two things.

First: To discontinue the payment of all strike benefits on the Illinois Central, Pere Marquette and Harriman Lines after December 1, 1914.

Second: To submit the question of calling off the strikes on the Illinois Central, Pere Marquette and Harriman Lines to a vote of the men who left their jobs because these companies refused them the right to organize into System Federations.

I am unalterably opposed to the calling off of this strike.

In making my position known, I am moved by but one consideration, and that is to prevent the labor movement from making a surrender that involves the integrity and morality of the cause. The crisis presents no question of personalities. This is not the time for personal controversies. We are face to face with a situation that demands our best intelligence and appeals to the purest of motives.

On September 30, 1911, 35,000 of us gave up our jobs because the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines said we could not organize into System Federations. We contended that the right to organize was the right of every workingman. We maintained that this right was necessary to our existence as free American workingmen.

This is a right worth fighting for. It is a right that cannot be surrendered without abandoning every fundamental principle of unionism. While only 35,000 of us are directly involved, every union man in America is interested. If we had given up our right to organize in the manner and form necessary in order to enforce our reasonable demands, we would have compromised the entire labor movement. What does the right to organize mean, unless the men have the right to determine the method and form of their

own organization? If we are to accept the dictates of our bosses as to the form and character of our unions, we may as well tear up our union cards and confess the meaninglessness of the union labor movement.

This, then, is the cause of our three-year struggle. Now we are asked to decide whether we will surrender and abandon this cause.

To call off the strike on the Illinois Central and Hariman Lines means one of two things:

First—Either we were wrong when we left our jobs on September 30, 1911, or

Second—We were right then and are willing now to abandon our right to organize as we see fit.

I write these facts as living truths. Who can or will dare to contradict them?

They are as true today as they were on September 30, 1911. We cannot escape the truth. Whatever our decision may be, we **CANNOT CHANGE THESE FACTS.**

To be beaten is one thing; to surrender is quite another. If some think that this strike is lost, or will be lost, and time justifies their belief, even then, if we refuse to surrender by calling the strike off, the worst record of our struggle will be that we were beaten. But a beaten cause is not a dishonored cause. In such a defeat, the integrity of the labor movement survives. A voluntary surrender leaves the movement weaker. In this case it sacrifices the nearest and dearest principles of unionism.

If the cause of this strike was wages and hours, we would not lose so much. But when the cause is the very life principle of unionism—**THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE**—then to surrender is like deserting your better self, being untrue to your ideals, sacrificing the truth of the thing you love most—freedom.

One thing looms up big. It demands an answer. Answer that question before you vote. That question is:

WHAT IS TO BE GAINED BY CALLING THE STRIKE OFF?

Why should we call off the strike, even if it is impossible for strike benefits to be paid? Let that be; but, in the name of everything that we love, let us not, without rhyme or reason, abandon our duty by surrendering—by becoming traitors to ourselves. Let us turn our eyes toward Colorado and see the bullet-swept mountain sides and the red stain they call Ludlow. Note the tents, the poverty and the grim determination that says "Liberty or death." Remember the odds they are fighting against. Have they quit? They have buried their wives and children; they have rotted in jail. Will they quit? They may be beaten. The "beast" is bold and wild. The Rockefeller power is immeasurable. But the miners on the hill tops of Colorado have not surrendered. We are fighting the same fight. Why should we surrender? The only way a righteous cause can be lost is by surrender. We may lose. We may be beaten. But only by surrendering can the cause lose.

The Illinois Central and Harriman Lines will gain. Their stock will go up. Their dividends will increase. If we surrender the railroad companies will have a thousand times greater consolation than they would have had in beating us. The moment we call this strike off the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines will be taken off the unfair list, and yet, every shop will be a scab camp. Every scab will be given a certificate of character. He will witness our humility and weakness in surrendering. He and his kind will laugh over the times when we repeatedly said that we had left our jobs rather than give up the right to organize.

Every railroad company in the country will be strengthened in its determination to crush labor, and every progressive move made by labor to organize and federate

into a more compact and efficient form will be met by new opposition, born of this unconditional surrender.

I REPEAT: What have we to gain by calling off the strike?

We have fought and suffered, but we have done this for a cause. If we are beaten, we are beaten for a cause. If we call this strike off, and surrender, we surrender without a motive, without an excuse.

We have spent time and money to get evidence in shape to present to the commission. The commission has officially and positively decided to hear our evidence. In what position will we appear before the commission, if we vote to call off the strike—if we surrender to the railroad companies.

The railroads have had their attorneys on the job trying to keep this investigation from coming up. Are the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikers going to call off the strike and so accomplish what the railroad attorneys failed to do?

I ask again: what have we to gain by calling off the strike? What have you personally to gain by calling it off? Great God, do you want to vote yourself the brother of a scab? If you vote to call this strike off, you vote to take the embargo off the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines; you admit the scabs were justified in scabbing; you place your approval on everything that has taken place during the strike—everything done by the railroads and their scabs. And by so doing we automatically become scabs ourselves. Let us not lull ourselves into any delusions. The mathematics of the facts cannot be changed.

Every international union that is a part of this strike has sent out ballots to all its lodges and the strikers of the Illinois Central, Pere Marquette and Harriman Lines are asked to vote yes or no on this proposition.

What will you do? Will you be right?

In this fight each of us has taken the medicine put up

to him. Only a few have complained. It has been my lot to take my medicine. I have had the pleasure of sitting for two weeks and listening to the human hounds who asked the state to hang me. There are enough charges against me at the present time to send me to the penitentiary for 35 years. If I were asked to call off the strike or take the 35 years in the penitentiary, I would cheerfully say, "Give me the 35 years in the penitentiary."

I am sure that you, my brother striker, would not do differently. Would you? **CARL E. PERSON.**

Clinton, Ill., November 4, 1914.

Again in the next issue of the *Strike Bulletin* the following editorial was published, which will again indicate that President A. O. Wharton's plea for me to keep my foot on the soft, soft pedal had no effect and reads as follows:

STRIKE BULLETIN

Clinton, Ill., November 11, 1914.

STAND YOUR GROUND

A proposition for calling off the strike has been submitted to the men on strike. As a consequence, we are face to face with the greatest problem that has confronted us since the day when 35,000 of us laid down our tools rather than surrender the fundamental principle of the labor movement—**THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.**

The proposition for calling off the strike represents the most vital crisis of our three-year strike, because it emanates from the labor movement itself. It is the first indication of weakness within our own ranks. And as a natural consequence, it is demanding more consideration than it would had the proposition to surrender come from the railroad companies.

Many uninformed strikers are of the opinion that if

the strike is called off, the different railroad companies will put the strikers back to work under the conditions existing before the strike. Such, however, is not the case. The companies have not agreed to put a single striker back to work, and so if you vote the strike off, you do so without the slightest assurance of any recompense for yourself or the labor movement. You are asked to surrender your right to organize and surrender your job for all time to come.

WHY, THEN, SHOULD YOU CALL OFF THE STRIKE?

The railroad companies and their scabs would be the only ones to benefit by the calling off of the strike. It would give the companies access to the open labor market. It would increase their standing on the board of trade. It would take them off the unfair list, where they have been placed by organized labor generally, and would increase their revenues by bringing them more business. It would give the scab a certificate of character. He no longer would be a social criminal. The stain of traitor that is stamped on his soul would be removed and his standing in the community where he resides would be that of an ordinary citizen.

As a striker you are now asked to make these conditions possible for the railroad companies and their scabs. In return for calling off the strike you are to receive nothing—NOTHING.

If, among the thousands of men that are on strike, there are a few who have been on strike only to maintain respectability—if there are jobs for them on the struck roads—then let them go back to work. But let us not disgrace the entire labor movement simply in order to accommodate the dissatisfied few. Let the dissatisfied few go and disgrace themselves.

The strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines represents the federated movement on all American rail-

roads. The men on strike are the pioneers of the federation method of organization. Because of their refusal to surrender the right to organize along federation principles, since the beginning of this strike the federation movement has spread out over some fifty different railroad systems. Out of the freedom that burned in the souls of this vast army of strikers has developed an institution of solidarity to which we can point with pride—an institution well worth the sacrifices that we have made and all that we may make in the future. To call this strike off—to surrender must inevitably depreciate the federation movement—this child of the ages that has grown out of the fight we have made on the Illinois Central and Hariman Lines.

LET US MEET THE ISSUE SQUARELY—LET US BE MEN

The only argument of those who would call off the strike is that by so doing we can organize the scabs now working on the struck roads. This, however, is not an argument—it is an insult. It is neither practical nor possible. A labor organization that makes a business of organizing scabs—traitors to the cause of labor—has outlived its usefulness as a labor organization. It prostitutes its principle for the sake of having a large membership and for the pleasure of pointing to a well-filled treasury. Of those who are ready to sidetrack principles for the sake of other accomplishments and who are of the opinion that the scabs can be organized and become productive agencies in the labor movement after the strike is called off—of such we wish to ask one question: What was done on the Santa Fe? On the L. & N.? And on numerous other roads? What was gained by taking these roads off the unfair list—by legalizing the scabs and calling the strike off?

THESE ARE QUESTIONS WHICH DEMAND AN ANSWER

The strike cannot be called off without seriously injuring the entire labor movement. Neither the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikers nor any other part, clique or clan of the labor movement has the right to rob it of its very vitality—its ideals—its motive power—its principles. Any man who is on strike can go back and SCAB—he can go and disgrace himself. But we object to him surrendering the entire cause of labor—the very pillars of organization—simply for his own aggrandizement. The uncompromising multitude objects to any one class taking the liberty to surrender that which does not belong to it.

According to the rules, your decision on the matter of calling off the strike must be in the hands of the Grand Lodge officers by November 23, 1914. It is your duty as a striker to so forcibly express yourself on this proposition that never again will you be asked to surrender—so that you will never again be asked to vote for the open shop—to rub elbows with scabs—to disgrace yourself and dishonor your cause. The acid test is being applied. Let us come out of it 100 per cent perfect, and thereby apprise the railroad companies of the fact that we are as determined as ever for RIGHT. That we have nothing to surrender. That our ideals are still before us and our love of freedom eternal.

If you are one of those that pledged to do your part in preserving the morality and integrity of our cause—then this is the time you are asked to STAND YOUR GROUND.

CARL E. PERSON.

Now I wish to introduce such evidence as will best indicate what the sentiments of the labor movement were in connection with the proposition as submitted to call the strikes off. My

first exhibit is a document from the Federation at Danville, Ill., which reads as follows:

STRIKE BULLETIN

Clinton, Ill., Wednesday, November 25, 1914.

FROM THE BOYS AT DANVILLE

Danville, Ill., November 17, 1914.

William H. Johnston, Int. Pres. I. A. of M.

J. W. Kline, Int. Pres. I. B. of B. & H.

Martin F. Ryan, Int. Pres. B. R. C. of A.

J. A. Franklin, Int. Pres. I. B. of B. M. & I. S. B.

A. O. Wharton, President Railway Dept. of A. F. of L.

J. J. Haynes, Int. Pres. Sheet Metal Workers.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

C. & E. I. Local Federation take this means of protesting against your circular letter, in which you are submitting a proposition for the calling off of the strikes on the I. C., Harriman Lines and Pere Marquette railroads. This action on the part of the Grand Lodge is entirely uncalled for. It has not only disgraced the men on strike, but every union man. Because it conveys a weakness that does not exist in the rank and file of the labor movement here in Danville or anywhere else.

ITS PURPOSE IS FALSE AND ITS MISSION IS IMPRACTICABLE

The principle that these men are on strike for is the fundamental principle of the labor movement. Should they surrender on the I. C., Harriman Lines and Pere Marquette railroads, or any other railroads, it would automatically weaken the labor movement here in Danville on

the C. & E. I. and every other organized city and railroad in the country, where workers have become enlightened enough to demand solidarity. WHERE THE CRUEST FOUNDATION FOR THE FEDERATED MOVEMENT HAS BEEN LAID.

Although we are not directly engaged in this strike, nevertheless we are interested. We feel that we are on strike for the men on the I. C., Harriman and Pere Marquette railroads, are fighting for the same thing that we have procured, and we procured our concessions because there were men on the I. C. and Harriman Lines that had courage to fight for these fundamental rights for the workers. If this principle of Federation is surrendered on the struck roads. THEN THE FEDERATED MOVEMENT IS ALSO SURRENDERED ON THE C. & E. I., and, if you please, on every other railroad in the country.

We are taking this liberty to protest to you not entirely because we are part of the American Federated Movement—but, if you please, because we have been a big factor in carrying on the strike on the I. C. and Harriman Lines. WE HAVE PLACED OUR MORAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE WITH THIS ARMY OF MEN. We have contributed that portion of ammunition in this fight that is just as essential as the muscle and brains that have been employed in this fight. We direct you to the fact that we have placed thousands of dollars in this fight right from DANVILLE ALONE. That we are as interested as any of the men who are on strike or ANY OTHER INDIVIDUAL or Lodge that has participated in the construction of this movement. We are as heavy stockholders as anyone else, BAR NONE, and therefore we demand the whyfore and wherefore for this trespass upon us, on the part of you and your associates in the railway department.

WE PROTEST AGAINST THIS DISGRACE THAT YOU HAVE TAKEN THE LIBERTY TO INTRUDE

UPON US AND THE UNION MOVEMENT IN GENERAL.

We insist that the strikes on the I. C., Harriman Lines and Pere Marquette Railroads **MUST BE FOUGHT UNTIL THEY ARE WON.** And we expect our associations to place sufficient money in the strike to make it possible for its successful termination.

We appreciate the fact that a small army of men must be maintained on these roads to carry on the strike. And to make this possible we demand that a portion of the funds of all organizations affiliated with the railway department be expended in the winning of these strikes. We also take the liberty to inform you that the greatest trouble has been **NO CO-OPERATION** in the handling of these strikes, **IN FINANCING THEM** on the part of you Grand Lodge Officers. The little effort that has been made by you has been in compliance with the Law of Individuality **ALONG CRAFT AND CLASS LINES.** We are anxiously awaiting the day when the railway department would become a productive institution. However, we note even at this late date that the railway department is not handling this proposition of sending out the ballots of this vote. **YOU ARE STILL HANDLING YOUR BUSINESS AS INDIVIDUALS.** There is no wonder that you have been unable to have the I. C. and Harriman Lines recognize that law of co-operation—of federation—when it is taken into consideration that you do not recognize it yourselves.

We protest **AGAINST THE SURRENDERING OF THE STRIKE ON THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL AND HARRIMAN LINES.** If the strikes cannot be won, then let them be lost, and then we can at least maintain our respectability on the C. & E. I. and on the many other roads where federation has been inaugurated.

Regardless of what your position may be, we have given you ours. We shall continue to support the strike in

the future as in the past and we expect the International Associations to do the same. If we are beaten in these strikes, it shall be after we have done our full duty to avert such disaster. But as far as calling it off, and surrendering, that shall be one function that we shall never be guilty of and trust that the Labor Movement will not be guilty of such a cowardly disgrace.

We remain yours for the strikers on the Illinois Central, Harriman Lines and Pere Marquette R. R.

FEDERATED COMMITTEE.

J. T. RITTER, Pipe Fitter; C. G. HOFFMAN, T. J. SHORT, Sheet Metal Workers; F. GIESIKING, J. E. ASKINS, E. GILDAUF, Machinists; M. R. MIEKE, ED. BALLAH, WALTER TRIMBLE, Car Workers; GERRY SMITH, E. L. BOYD, J. W. ALLISON, Boilermakers; BLUFORD WILSON, WILLIAM RADIMACHER, JOHN HERMLING, Blacksmiths.

I am now entering into the records a few of the many documents in relation to this subject of calling the strike off, which I am sure you will agree with me are self-explanatory, therefore I take much pleasure in having you meet some of the guards that the *Strike Bulletin* called to the colors during this invasion by the Grand Lodge officers:

A WELCOME RESOLUTION

WAYCROSS, GA., November 15, 1914.

STRIKE BULLETIN,
Clinton, Ill.

Robinson Lodge, No. 552, I. A. of M., in regular session assembled adopted the following resolution:

Be It Resolved, That this lodge, No. 552, go on record as standing firm with the *Strike Bulletin* in this noble appeal to all union men, and that we carry to a finish a battle that is not lost. We believe the right to organize comprises the same essential feature in 1914 as it did in 1911, and because there is at stake every fundamental principle of unionism; therefore, be it further

Resolved, That we institute more energy in this fight and engage ourselves in a war. Let those of us who have been nothing more than spectators of this battle rally and get in line for action, in every sense of the word. Let us take on new activity and interest financially and

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

morally and lend our co-operation to a fight so nobly fought. And in the end, if we should meet defeat, let us remember that those things are all a part in the great game of life. To meet these conditions and not fight demonstrates lack of courage. Let us hold our ground in this final test of the Union cause. Let us be men.

Committee,

ST. CLAIR SMITH,

ED. JONES,

W. K. GOODYEAR,

Lodge No. 552, I. A. of M., Waycross, Ga.

A RESOLUTION BY THE BURNSIDE STRIKERS

CHICAGO, ILL., November 14, 1914.

WHEREAS, We have been on strike now thirty-seven months, fighting for recognition of the system federation and at the same time fighting the battle of organized labor at large, and our fight has been the instrument of getting federated contracts for our brothers on many other railroads in this country and we have made history in the labor movement since the 35,000 of us laid down our tools on the 30th day of September, 1911, with the determination of having the form of organization best suited to us, and not to allow the railroad companies to dictate to us our form of organization; and

WHEREAS, It would be unforgivable cowardice for us to surrender at this time, yes, or any other time, unless the surrender would be absolutely beneficial to the labor movement, and we know that it would not be, it would kill the labor movement among the shop trades in the railroad industry for years to come; and

WHEREAS, We have the International officers come along and tell us to stand firm and what the winning of this strike meant not only to us, but to all other roads throughout the country. If it meant so much to us then, it seems more now; and

WHEREAS, The railway department which was not in existence when we were locked out by these railroads has called its executive board together and framed up this rotten circular letter, which was sent out with a ballot, asking the men who had paid the price of thirty-seven months of sacrifice and hardships to vote whether they wanted the strike called off or stay on strike without financial assistance after December 1, 1914; and

WHEREAS, We would like to know by what authority the R. E. Department or the International officers have to tell us that they are going to stop financial assistance on December 1 and ask us to vote on calling off the strike, without first putting it up to the rank and file who are furnishing the finance to pay the benefits with. Are the International Presidents paying anything more than their regular monthly dues? Have any of them assessed themselves to help the men on the firing line? We will venture to say no, and they have not even federated and gotten together and furnished the moral and intellectual support; and

WHEREAS, The Grand Lodge officers should remember that at the Kansas City convention of the R. E. Department they pledged themselves to give every assistance within their power to the men on the firing line, and to fight these strikes to a successful termination; and, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we do everything in our power against the action taken by the Grand Lodge officers and the R. E. Department, which is so damaging to the very principles of trades unionism; and be it further

Resolved, That we do everything in our power to convince the brothers having a vote the necessity of voting against calling off these strikes until we get a satisfactory settlement. Be sure, brothers, that you vote as trade unionists; don't vote yourself a scab.

(Signed) I. J. CUNDIFF, Boilermakers.
J. L. EDWARDS, Blacksmith.
R. S. KNOX, Painter.
J. R. MILSTEAD, Carmen.
A. HUTTON, Machinist.
JOHN McDUGAL.
JAMES RICHMOND.
J. F. KANE.
WILLIAM BARNSFIELD, Blacksmith.
E. H. MAX, Machinist.
J. S. CLAYTON.
E. C. BRODENBERG, Blacksmith Helper.
JAMES MCGUIRE.
GEORGE BURGER, Machinist.
C. TUNISON.
P. W. FLANNIGAN, Steamfitter.

FROM PADUCAH, KY.

PADUCAH, KY., November 6.

At the regular meeting of the I. C. System Federation at Paducah, Ky., held this date, the ballots sent out by the Grand Lodge officers in regard to the discontinuance of the strike were thoroughly discussed.

We, the members of the System Federation, condemn the Grand Lodge officers for this action and it is resolved we demand that our Grand Lodge officers settle this strike satisfactorily or continue it forever, and it is further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to each grand lodge officer and also the *Strike Bulletin* and *Federationist* for publication.

(Signed) JAMES G. CASHEN, B. of R. C. 181,
J. A. JAMES, B. of R. C. A. 14,
H. S. THIXTON, Machinists 123,
GEORGE T. YOPP, Machinists 123,
Committee.

FROM THE OAKLAND FEDERATION

Oakland Local Federation, Harriman Lines

OAKLAND, CAL., November 7, 1914.

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON, Int. Pres., I. A. of M.
J. W. KLINE, Int. Pres., I. B. of B. & H.
MARTIN F. RYAN, Int. Pres., B. R. C. of A.
J. A. FRANKLIN, Int. Pres., I. B. of B. M. & I. S. B.
J. J. HYNES, Int. Pres., Sheet Metal Workers.
O. A. WHARTON, Pres. R. E. Dept., A. F. of L.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: Your circular letter pertaining to the calling off of the strikes now in force on the Illinois Central, Pere Mar-

quette and Harriman Lines received. As you state in that letter that you expect some criticism, the following will not be a surprise to you. This matter was taken up at our regular meeting last night, and we consider it to be a direct slap in the face, an insult to our honesty and integrity as union men. You make reference in your letter to this statement: "Nothing that honorable men could do to bring about an adjustment has been neglected or overlooked." We wish to state that as far as the strike on the Pacific coast is concerned, the Grand Lodge officers took the men off the line and no amount of persuasion could get them replaced. This would show that something had been neglected and overlooked. The strange part of the whole proceeding is that this time when an investigation before the Industrial Relations Commission is about to be held, along come our Grand Lodge officers and want the men to call the strike off, for that is the REAL purpose of taking the vote. We can understand that the railroads do not want this investigation, but for the Grand Lodge officers it is a mystery, unless it be for the same reason.

What sacrifices have any of you made in comparison to the boys on the firing line? You have cut down the expenses of the men on the firing line to a minimum. Your shrewdness in calling off the strike benefits on December 1, which may have a tendency to compel some of the members to vote FOR your proposition, certainly entitles you to the prize. Conditions on the road do not warrant any such move, and the fair which is to be held in San Francisco, in 1915, would be sufficient for us to continue this strike. We at this point are absolutely OPPOSED to the calling off of the strike, and hereby CONDEMN the actions of the Grand Lodge officers.

If this strike is called off we would suggest that the brothers voting for it, in company with our Grand Lodge officers, be the FIRST to apply for positions, so that they may work under conditions secured for them by the SCABS. In regards to our union cards, and the benefits derived therefrom, under the present situation, is too ridiculous for serious consideration. It seems that you have made up your mind to have this called off, as you only give the men less than twenty days to get their ballots in. Certainly the boys on the other roads who are working under federated agreements (which are not worth the paper they are written on, should this strike be called off) can thank you for whatever "SUCCESS" they may meet with in the future.

In conclusion, by whose authority did you send out these ballots? If you succeed in your scheme, we feel safe in saying that you will have plenty of time to organize men into your respective organizations. We would suggest that when speaking to prospective members you refer to the Illinois Central, Pere Marquette and Harriman Lines, as a GOOD incentive for them to join "our" organization. We do not know the motive for this, for none has been given which is satisfactory to us, but if there was any ulterior one, time will disclose it.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN ROBERTSON,
Secretary System Federation Harriman Lines.

PRESIDENT'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT 285

FROM THE BOYS AT WATERLOO

WATERLOO, IOWA, November 10, 1914.

Brother Union Men: The following resolution was unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of Waterloo Lodge, No. 314, I. A. of M.:

WHEREAS, No one realizes more fully than we that the shopmen's strikes on the Harriman Lines, Illinois Central and Pere Marquette Lines have been long drawn out and hard fought struggles, causing many hardships to some of the true union men involved, and a large expenditure of money from the various crafts having interests at stake; and

WHEREAS, The heartless railroad corporations, through their stubbornness and hatred of union men, have squandered enormous sums of money, hiring incompetent strike-breakers and company emissaries, to the extent that they have used drastic measures, and at the present time are compelled to borrow money to lease or buy new equipment; and

WHEREAS, Our Grand Lodge officers for some reason that is beyond our power to discern have submitted to a vote of the strikers, requesting the calling off of above-mentioned strike, right at a time when the paid emissaries of the companies are working their utmost for just such a move, and right in the face of the fact that by calling off these strikes at the present inopportune time, there is absolutely nothing to gain and everything to lose, even to the extent of jeopardizing the dozens of railroads shopmen's federated agreements that were acquired solely through the gallant fight of the strikers on the struck roads; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we condemn in no moderate terms any action that would foolishly tend to call off the shopmen's strikes on the Harriman, Illinois Central and Pere Marquette Lines at a time when such action would be suicidal to the union movement; and be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to all true union men and strikers to work and vote against calling off the strikes as set forth in the ballots, sent out by the various Grand Lodges, and that we demand a fair and unbiased handling of this matter for the best interests of the progress of unionism; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be submitted to our brother union men in any and every legal way that we may deem advisable.

F. A. BLIM, President,
FRANK CONNOR, R. S.,
Machinist Union No. 314.

FROM MACHINISTS' DISTRICT

WATERLOO, IOWA, November 12.

Lodge No. 314 of Waterloo, recognizing the vital importance of the present situation regarding the strike on the above named railroads, has drafted a resolution protesting against the idea of calling off these gigantic struggles. The resolution in question receives my heartiest approval and I have much pleasure in recommending it to you with the full knowledge that you will appreciate the sentiment therein expressed.

Brothers, the day of calling off strikes is PAST. To say the least, it would be committing industrial suicide to attempt it in this case.

WHAT HAVE WE TO GAIN BY CALLING OFF THESE STRIKES?

We have everything to lose—the noble sacrifices that we have made, the suffering our loved ones have gone through, the unswerving loyalty of our brothers, and, above all things, our freedom in the future. Shall we crucify the spirit of federation upon the altar of greed by a cowardly surrender of LIFE AND LIBERTY to a heartless corporation, which, in turn would return our cowardice by starving us into submission or shooting us to death. The very latest outrage upon humanity was committed on November 11, 1914, when our worthy brother, Carl E. Person, was again arrested, together with our friend, Floyd Gibbons.

This action proves that the hand of the depraved corporation is on the throttle. They have determined to choke Person, Meagher, Gibbons and the *Strike Bulletin* into insensibility, with a view to preventing further publicity for the dangerous equipment in use on the struck roads.

In closing, let me say that if our Executive Officers had used their efforts with the same amount of zeal, with a view to calling a GENERAL STRIKE, they would have earned our undying gratitude. But as it is, let us show by an overwhelming vote for a continuance of the strike that we do not fall for any calling off dope.

Yours very sincerely,

W. A. MOORE, Secretary-Treasurer,
District No. 21, I. A. of M., Striking Machinist.

FROM A PIONEER

HELENA, ARK., November 10, 1914.

STRIKE BULLETIN,
Clinton, Ill.

I have received a ballot by which I am requested to record my attitude on the strike situation. I am the only striker working here and I say, God forbid that union strikers who have stayed with the battle this long and suffered so much should vote to surrender their manhood now.

If there are any who can't see it that way, I refer them to the Santa Fe and the L. & N. On these roads a card man can't work and open his mouth in defense of himself or an organization. What have we to gain by voting to surrender? I stand today where I stood on the first day of May, 1911, when I opened the first federation of Illinois Central employes at Memphis, Tenn., of which gathering I was the chairman. I stand for federation of all the trades. I can go down to defeat with honor, but surrender—never. So, therefore, my vote shall be to continue the strike.

Yours very truly,

J. H. GORE,
320 McDonough St., Helena, Ark.

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.

CHAMPAIGN, ILL., November 11, 1914.

STRIKE BULLETIN,
Clinton, Ill.

The strikers at Champaign have filled out their ballots, and every one has voted to continue the strike. Benefits or no benefits, we will never

PRESIDENT'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT 287

vote to put the Illinois Central on the fair list and make scabs out of ourselves.

The idea of the Grand Lodge officers in asking us to put the Illinois Central on the fair list and get nothing in return for it is ridiculous. And, again, why are they trying to discourage us, as to the Industrial Relations Commission's investigation? Are they afraid the Illinois Central will get some more publicity?

We trust that the boys who came out in this strike and went elsewhere to work and who have been working all the time will take into consideration the condition we will be in if this strike is called off and that they will vote to continue the strike.

Yours for victory with no compromise,

GEORGE P. REILEY,

Secretary Federation, Champaign, Ill.

FROM HEMPSTEAD, TEXAS

HEMPSTEAD, TEX., November 11, 1914.

STRIKE BULLETIN,
Clinton, Ill.

We voted 100 per cent here to continue the strike until we win, and it is our prayer that all the strikers will vote the same. We think that this question is one of the crookedest things that could ever be placed before an organization of union men.

We are already disgraced by having the proposition submitted to us for a vote, but we can save the ship by voting it down. Anyone who would vote in the interests of the companies and their scabs is nothing but a scab himself, and is as devoid of principle as a scab.

We have written to Grand Lodge officers and asked them the following questions: First, what will become of the strikers if this proposition carries? Second, what will become of the Federation contract, the demand for which was the cause of the companies locking us out? Third, does the Grand Lodge want the members to scab? However, the Grand Lodge need not make any further explanations, for their letter and this vote show that they want to make scabs of us all.

Fraternally yours,

C. B. DORAN,

Secretary Federation, Box No. 42, Hempstead, Tex.

FROM COUNCIL BLUFFS

COUNCIL BLUFFS, November 11, 1914.

TO THE GRAND LODGE OFFICERS, B. R. C. OF A.,
Kansas City, Mo.

The striking carmen of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines and members of Bluff City Lodge, No. 93, do hereby present to you the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, We have been on strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines for the past three years; realizing that this is a strike of grave importance to organized labor, and as good union carmen,

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

we fully realize now, as we did before the strike, that we would not receive strike benefits, but nevertheless voted for a strike in the face of the inability to pay strike benefits; and

WHEREAS, After three years of strike, we consider that the condition of these companies are such that we have them whipped; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this lodge regard the action taken by the Grand Lodge, to call the strike off, as dealing a death blow to the labor movement in general, and we hereby arise in protest against the action taken by the Grand Lodge officers.

Signed by the following strikers:

G. W. HEFFNER,
J. P. JOHNSON,
CARL NELSON,
AUGUST JENTZEN,
M. HAHN,
NELS HANSEN,
P. LARSEN,
F. L. DAUB,
J. HANSEN,
LOUIS JOHNSON,
CHARLES C. JOHNSON,
J. HANSON, Secretary,

B. R. C. of A., No. 93, Council Bluffs, Ia.

FROM CHICAGO

CHICAGO, ILL., November 14, 1914.

STRIKE BULLETIN,
Clinton, Ill.

Our warm-hearted, weak-kneed, cold-footed officers of the Railway Department have become sorry for the railroads and put out a vote to call off the strikes, and by so doing help them to get back on their feet at the expense of the labor movement.

Brothers, this is about the worst yet. You talk about the fellow that deserts the ranks now and then and goes back in, and what a traitor he is and all that, which he is, but that is not to be compared to this deal, where our leaders, or supposed-to-be leaders, ask us to become traitors to ourselves and the labor movement at large.

Why, brothers, that ballot is the rottenest thing that I have ever seen in all my years in the labor movement. It is so worded that you are compelled to vote as they want you to. If you vote to continue the strike, it is a vote to discontinue your financial assistance, as the ballot asks you if you desire to continue the strikes after the discontinuance of financial benefits.

Now, brothers, let's get busy and vote this outrageous proposition down and by so doing whip the railroads and the cold-footed ginks that are in line with them.

Let victory and no compromise still be our password.

I. J. CUNDIFF,
Secretary Federation, Chicago, Ill.

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FROM OGDEN, UTAH

OGDEN, UTAH, November 12, 1914.

By the time this paper reaches you the ballots that have been sent broadcast are in the hands of every striker and some are debating whether to vote "YES" or "NO." It was the most cowardly thing a bunch of men ever did when they ordered those ballots sent out and then say they are union men. I am sure that if the men who have remained on the firing line had been consulted the ballots would never have been sent out. The merchants in this town knew a month ago that these ballots were going to be sent out. Please tell us how they knew this ahead of we strikers? Brothers, take warning and vote this down and rebuke those who ordered the ballots sent out. Our opinion is that anyone voting to call this strike off is just as big a scab as anyone that is working for the Harriman Lines at the present time. If the company have all the scabs they want (and those better than ever), why are they trying to get the strikers to go back?

Several strikers who have not been doing picket duty received letters this week from the company wanting them to come back to work. The company knew this vote was being sent out and this is just a bluff on their part, trying to make the strikers believe the lay-off due to the work being up in first-class shape, therefore trying to influence the vote.

Now, brothers, vote "NO" on the ballots you now have. Put your shoulders to the wheel and advertise the struck roads and their scabs. Tell your friends that are going to the FAIR that there is still a strike on the Illinois and Harriman Lines.

Brothers, don't vote yourselves scabs. God never loved a quitter. We have no use for a scab or quitter either.

F. C. DUNN,
Secretary Ogden Federation of Strikers.

RESOLUTION

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., November 14, 1914.

STRIKE BULLETIN,
Clinton, Ill.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted as fully explaining our attitude on the calling off of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines; also the Pere Marquette strike:

WHEREAS, We have been on strike for a period of thirty-seven months fighting for a principle which we deemed necessary in the daily walks of life, in order that we may be able to meet our duties as men; and

WHEREAS, We fully realize the vast amount of money that this strike has cost the Grand Lodges; also the local lodges and rank and file in general, and that at the same time has almost bankrupted the Illinois Central and other struck lines; and

WHEREAS, We cannot at the present time see how we can better ourselves by calling off this strike, when by doing so we are trying vast numbers of good loyal union men onto the outside public, with the strain of having erred three years ago and taking three years to find it out; and

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

WHEREAS, We have never heard of any strike being called off, where the men have made any progress at all, but what come from the men on the firing line or the corporation officials, who are one of the two great factors; and

WHEREAS, We have made great progress in the lines of organization in the way of showing other union men and company officials the necessity of the system federation, and the right to organize such; and

WHEREAS, We are now called upon by the Grand Lodge officers to stop all strike benefits and discontinue a strike after December 1, 1914, we are asked by the men whom we pay our money to not to ask them how we want it spent. We ask you, who pays the freight of these strikes—and you on the firing line—did you ever hear of a Grand Lodge officer getting sued in the courts or losing his house or other property (other than his honor or a good name)? Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the East St. Louis Local of the Illinois Central System Federation go on record as condemning the action of the different Grand Lodge officers and putting forth such a ballot at this time; and be it further

Resolved, That we request all strikers who are in good standing to vote against calling the strike off at a time when we deem we still have a chance to gain honorable settlement; and be it further

Resolved, That we send a copy of these resolutions to each point on the Illinois Central; also to the System Federation officers and to the *Strike Bulletin* and *Federationist*.

E. NASH, President,

EDER F. MASON, Secretary.

East St. Louis Local System Federation.

RESOLUTIONS FROM PORTLAND

PORTLAND, ORE., November 9, 1914.

Resolutions of Rose City Local Shop Federation of the Harriman Lines:

WHEREAS, September 30, 1911, the rank and file of the men working on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines came out on strike for the principle of federation and have fought for the same for the last thirty-seven months; and

WHEREAS, There is now a referendum being spread broadcast by the railroad department to call off the said strike, and this to be done with short notice, which is inadequate to give the rank and file a chance to consider the momentousness of the situation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the different crafts affiliated with the Rose Local Shop Federation of the Harriman Lines, do hereby protest against the calling off of the strike, for to do so will only work a further detriment to our stand for federated action; and be it further

Resolved, That we consider that to put out this ballot without giving those involved a chance to be represented at the meeting at which plans were made to put out the ballot, appears like an act of bad faith and the short notice enhances that appearance. Especially as the

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Industrial Relation Commission is going to investigate the strike, this action will work to the interest of our enemies and take away our argument, making an investigation of that which does not exist unnecessary and the money expended in collecting data will be wasted.

(Signed) STEPHEN TAYLOR, Machinists.
CHARLES ANDERSON, Boilermakers.
C. E. GARDNER, Blacksmiths.
R. SINFIELD, Carmen.
C. R. MERRILL, Secretary Committee.

FROM A LIVE BUNCH

DANVILLE, ILL., November 14, 1914.

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE I. A. OF M.:

Vermillion Lodge No. 473 is in receipt of Circular Letter No. 48, issued and authorized by our Grand Lodge officers. In regular session after a careful study and a thorough discussion of the subject, a motion was made and unanimously adopted that if the strikers should reject the proposition of calling off the strike, this lodge would give the strike its financial and moral support in the future, as in the past.

The proposition was then submitted to the strikers, and a tabulation showed 19 in favor of continuing the strike and one in favor of calling it off. In view of this fact, a committee was appointed and the resolution drawn up, presented and adopted by this body.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY VERMILLION LODGE NO. 473

WHEREAS, Grand Lodge has decided to suspend the payment of strike benefits on the Illinois Central and Pere Marquette Railroads and have initiated a referendum for calling off said strikes. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That Vermillion Lodge No. 473 be placed on record as condemning the Grand Lodge officers in this action. They have taken a most unwise, untimely, untrue and detrimental course to the strikers in the organization in general. That they have usurped the power of the initiative, which rightfully belongs to the rank and file of the strikers. They have adopted a policy playing directly into the hands of the railroads. Therefore, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions and letter be sent to our International President and Executive Board, the *Strike Bulletin*, *Federationist*, and a copy be spread on the minutes.

F. E. DUNCAN,
FRED WHITTING,
C. B. ADAMS,
Committee, Vermillion Lodge No. 473.
ROBERT FRYMAN, Sec'y.

Now that you have heard from some of "My Rebel" friends, you are in a better position to determine what the attitude of the common folks were in regard to the calling off of the strikes.

It was said by Mr. A. O. Wharton and others that Carl Person was the only one that wanted to continue the strike, but now that I have submitted some of the evidence from the strike zone, we find that the Grand Lodge proposition was opposed from all directions.

The wide-awake men got into action as never before and arose in their anger and protested against the action of the Grand Lodge officers. The *Strike Bulletin* performed a service that was more than valuable, and with it, as an avenue of publicity, we snowed their proposition under. When the votes were counted it was carried by a large majority not to declare the strike off, even though they had cut off the strike benefits. The few men on the line and their friends throughout the country stood up against the accumulated efforts of the International organizations and licked them; licked them on their proposition as they were never licked before. Our success in this can be attributed to the publicity we were able to give it, and when it was all over they were fully aware of the fact that it was publicity that we licked them with, and now the *Strike Bulletin* was loved by them—about as much as a pantry mouse loves the kitchen cat.

And so that there will be no doubt about the facts that the *Strike Bulletin* licked all the accumulated forces of the Grand Lodge Presidents, we must call President W. H. Johnston, of the Machinists, to the witness stand, in which he makes the following statement:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

Office of Grand Lodge—400-407 McGill Bldg.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 12, 1914.

ILLINOIS CENTRAL, HARRIMAN AND PERE MARQUETTE STRIKES
OFFICIAL CIRCULAR No. 51

TO THE ORDER EVERYWHERE, GREETING.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: I am herewith furnishing you tabulated vote of the several organizations involved in these strikes per circular No. 48, which was sent to our lodges October 31, 1914.

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	To Continue Strike	To Discontinue Strike
International Association Machinists.....	750	461
Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.....	422	277
Brotherhood of Blacksmiths & Helpers.....	185	56
Sheet Metal Workers, I. A.....	29	18
Brotherhood of Boilermakers & Helpers....	215	240
	<hr/> 1,601	<hr/> 1,052

It is to be regretted that out of the many thousand men who came out on strike, so few took enough interest to vote on such a vital question. The vote indicates a desire to continue the strike under the conditions outlined in circular No. 48.

I am giving you this information at the very earliest possible moment, as we only received the vote of the other organizations yesterday.

Fraternally and respectfully submitted,

WM. H. JOHNSTON,
International President.

As you have noticed in Mr. Johnston's circular, he admits that we defeated their proposition of calling the strike off, and now you would naturally think that this decision of the rank and file would be accepted and this matter settled. But there was another attack made on the strikers, as we shall note later on.

It will also be well to remember that at the Kansas City convention of the Railway Department for 1914 (reference, Minutes) arrangements and preparations had been made for the United States Industrial Commission to make an investigation of the strikes. Money had been appropriated for the expense, and Grand Lodge representatives had run around every terminal point on strike in search for evidence that would be effective for the investigation. Attorney Frank Comerford had been at work some eight months preparing his case, and made a canvass of the entire situation. Money and time had been spent to carry on this investigation that would possibly lead to a favorable settlement of the strikes. But they came in their might on October 31, 1914, to declare the strikes off, so that whatever benefits there could come from the investigation would be discredited. There would then be no strike to settle after the investigation had been made, for,

if they had declared the strike off before, there could be no possible chance of securing a settlement of the strikes after the investigation. What motive was back of their efforts to discredit the strikers' cause before the Commission by establishing a state of affairs that would enable the railroad companies to come before this Commission and state that they are, or were, going to be investigated for something that does not exist, inasmuch as the strikes on their roads were to be declared off six months ago. The strikers' cause could stand surrendered, as far as the Grand Lodge Presidents were concerned, in order that the railroad companies could be relieved of the embarrassment of coming up before the Commission and confess that the strike had cost them millions and millions of dollars.

While their hungry desires of calling the strike off failed, it had its good results as far as the "dips" were concerned, for it weakened the movement, as any movement is weakened when the movement's leaders get yellow and display every action of being the servant of those that are fighting labor.

Thousands of the worthy brothers sat idly by and watched this passing show, and were successfully coaxed into the belief that the Grand Lodge officers were actuated with pure motives by trying to declare the strike off before the investigation came up to discredit its possible good results. Whether it would have been instrumental in the settlement of the strikers or not, it was bound to result favorably to the men on strike, which it eventually did by bringing to the surface some of the methods used by the company, and made the minutes of the investigation a matter of public record. Had not the Grand Lodge Presidents pulled off the job they did in November, 1914, the investigation would have brought much greater results to the men on strike than it did. The Grand Lodge officers in their desire to make the strike a dead issue before this investigation came up, were either carrying out the instructions of the railroad companies, or they were confronted with the fear that their conduct in the strike would

also be placed under investigation, in which case it would have developed that they were greater enemies of the Federation than the railroad companies themselves. They were, however, very anxious to pull down the curtains on the stage that they raised them on in 1911, before Mr. Frank Walsh and his Commission could get around to photograph the situation.

In this fight to keep them from declaring the strike off we had an opportunity to test men as never before. Of course, you understand that Mr. A. O. Wharton, President of the Railway Department, who came in with his kind testimonials in May, 1913, and who had then appreciated all the good work the *Strike Bulletin* was doing, was now a lost comrade in the fight. Somehow and somewhere the Grand Lodge officers got him again and he fell. The fight got too strong for him, and so, in November, 1914, he fell from the cause that could never be surrendered, as Jack Buckalew and McCreery fell by the wayside in December, 1912.

Mr. Wharton had, however, been in other places before during the strike, when he cried in despair; one was during July, in 1912, as you will remember, during the general strike vote, when he had nothing but a wet blanket for the situation then, but after standing by and watching McCreery and Jack Buckalew play ball for a while, he jumped in with all the enthusiasm he possessed.

There are no records in any of the craft journals any place where any of the Grand Lodge officers, Vice Presidents or Business Agents, came out in this fight and helped the men on the firing line to keep the strike from being called off. What was done was done by the men from the ranks throughout the country.

Not any of the payroll delegates dared to say a word during the month of November, 1914, while the strike vote was being taken. This seemed to be a unanimous action with but one exception, that of President Kline, of the Blacksmiths, who, according to the following letter, opposed the other General Presidents. It is here published in full:

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS AND HELPERS

CHICAGO, October 30, 1914.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS AND HELPERS.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: The enclosed letter and ballots is for the purpose of voting on whether you wish to continue the strike on the Illinois Central, Harriman Lines and the Pere Marquette Railroads, without funds or not. The General Officers whose names are signed to the enclosed letter met in Kansas City, October 21 and 22 and decided upon this action. The letter enclosed states that we have been complimented and condemned for keeping the strike on. I want to say that so far as the Blacksmiths' organization is concerned, I have had very few letters condemning me, but, on the other hand, I have had members, both along the picket line and those that are working elsewhere, urging me to fight this strike to a finish and never surrender. I am willing to do so if our membership votes that way, and will renew their efforts to help us pay those that are on the picket line.

We are behind with our picket money now, but we are gaining as we go along, and we hope to catch up soon. I want to work in harmony with the other organizations, and therefore I agreed at the Kansas City meeting to put this matter up to our Brotherhood for them to decide.

I have some pretty strong convictions, and have had them all through this strike, and I am not ashamed of the record we have made in this strike. I have never been afraid to express my opinion, whether it be in public or private. Rather than to try to influence you one way or the other, I leave it with the membership to vote whether you wish to continue the strike under the conditions expressed in the letter signed by the General Officers.

We hear a great deal about calling the strike off now-a-days from different sources, but the Blacksmiths are not responsible for these reports. We have stood from the beginning until the present time for a clean-cut finish fight, but craft jealousy has done much to prolong the strike.

At the first Kansas City convention the attempt to take leadership away from a small organization and put it into the hands of another was frustrated. However, since that time everybody has been boss. I have attended no conference with railroad officials—only those that have been called regularly—and therefore have given them no reason to think the Blacksmiths were quitters.

I repeat that I believe in majority rule, and that I agreed at the recent Kansas City meeting to place this up to our membership for them to decide, but I also stated that I reserved the right to explain my position to our craft. I will not shoulder the responsibility of others' failures, and I have a right to so inform our members. I will say further that this strike has not had the enthusiastic support of all the International officers. I again repeat that I will do everything in my power to raise finances for that purpose. I cannot tell you whether I will be very successful in that or not.

I am sending these letters to all of our locals and urge that all the members who went on strike as per the letter enclosed vote YES

or NO and do so as EARLY as possible, so that they can be in this office to be counted by the 23rd of NOVEMBER.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) J. W. KLINE,
General President.

At this stage of the game it is evident that President Kline was the only Grand Lodge officer that had not been whipped into line with the Johnston-Wharton machine. Mr. Kline fought the strikers' cause, voted against withdrawing the strike benefits and objected to the sending out of the letter to vote on the calling off of the strike.

According to the above letter, Kline had notified the machine that he would reserve the right to explain his position by circular letter to the members of the organization he represented.

When our readers peruse this book and note the attitude of the President of the Railway Department, Mr. Wharton, assisted particularly by Presidents Johnston and Ryan, I feel it my duty to say that any man that would stand three years with such a group without being affected with a severe case of cold feet is to be commended, and as the story continues you will find that he rang true to the cause of the strikers to the end.

Business Agent Molloy, who had been such a good federationist in the early days, when Jack Buckalew and McCreery went on the shelf, lined right up with President Johnston in this fight, and therefore this is the place where Molloy fell overboard. As Business Agent for the men on strike, he failed to serve them here at this time when his service was most needed.

Molloy was preaching the "all for one and one for all" on the Illinois Central, but his business was mostly to keep the Johnston-Wharton machine informed as to the attitude of the men over the line, and when the opportunity would present itself to meet a "weak sister," he would sing that little song of "A little bit now is better than nothing at all." Molloy turned out to be a "spotter"—a spotter for the machine.

Mr. Wharton was informed of a dance the strikers at Burnside were giving, and Molloy was assigned as the operator to render a report in full on the proceedings, and later, at the Kansas City convention of the Railway Department in 1916, Mr. Wharton made a flashlight oration on Operator Molloy's report, charging the strikers at Burnside, who had been on strike there for several years on six per week, with appropriating to themselves the profits of the dance, and myself for inefficiency and the lack of scientific methods in handling the Federation, because I did not interfere officially or otherwise by instructing them how to handle their own local affairs, which did not concern me, Wharton, Johnston, or Molloy, or any striker outside of those who went out and made their dance a success.

If it is any man's duty to stick with his fellows when in trouble, this duty falls on the man that gets the white vest assignments in times of peace. Molloy got all this; he was their Business Agent; advised them to strike; made the points on the system before and after the strike, and was the leader they depended on and kept by them until they got so poor that there was a danger that his pay-day would not come at regularly stipulated intervals, and the very time when they needed him most—when friends were few and far between. Up to this time the strike had cost him nothing, for he was paid, and if there was danger of his salary being jeopardized because of the poverty of the movement, just then it was his duty to put in a year or two at six per week, like hundreds of others had to do; for a Business Agent that won't take the chance with his fellows, and slip on their uniforms and adjust himself to their six-a-week allowance, has no business accepting the best they have to give away in the days of peace—the office of a Business Agent.

If some strikes are "*ill advised*," there will be less "*ill advised*" strikes in the future, when the common animals will get up on their hind legs and demand of those who advise the strike, to come along into the trenches and pay the price in

taking a chance on their own jobs as well, and if they are not game enough to play this role, win or lose, with their fellows, then there is no legitimate place for them in the march of the masses for human progress. They are simply playing the role of the ammunition agent in war time, who profits by the misfortune of others.

Let me give you the attitude of some of the Grand Lodge officers during the time we went after them in the *Strike Bulletin*, and to give you this, I will put on a gentleman from Kansas City:

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Dec. 15, 1914.

Dear Person: I saw President Franklin out at the Labor Temple last night. Had a short talk with him regarding calling off the strike. He was very careful what he said, but laid it all to the small vote cast.

Was up to Martin Ryan's office yesterday. Met Harry Carr, B. A. for R. I., and Mr. Ryan. I had a long fight, but I told them a few things. They are all against you, and it is very plain that they fear the (*Strike*) *Bulletin*.

I told him in very plain English that it was a dirty act of thieves to meet on the sly as they did to send out that proposition to call off the strike. I told them if they contemplated such an act they should have conferred with the live ones on the line. Ryan wanted to know who they should have called, and I said they should have conferred with you first of all. Ryan went into a fit and said, "Hell, no." But he is sure up a tree now, and don't know how to account for their actions.

Ryan and Harry Carr put up a big talk about how you are acting after they saved your life, and about that \$7,000 they still owe Comerford. I did not tell them what I knew to be a fact, and that is, they only come across when it would be unpopular not to; and at that, if they would have been successful in raising ten times as much money, you know as well as I that as soon as they made agreement with Comerford for \$18,000, that the real rebels said that is O. K. Now, let them get it themselves. We stopped our hustling. I know damn well we would have gotten the money anyhow.

We all send you our kindest regards and wishes, the whole *Bulletin* force a Merry Xmas.

Yours as ever,

L. M. HAWVER.

Now, what do you know about that? Unfortunately, during the year of 1914 I spent about eight months in jail on a murder charge of which I was exonerated. You can hear them talking in this letter what they did for my defense fund. Very

well; whatever the labor movement did in that direction I tried to repay to the best of my ability in honest effort. It is said that there were 38,000 men who went on strike, and the expenses in handling the case cost \$18,000; this was about 45 cents per man, if the money came from the men who went on strike.

The State's Attorney of Dewitt County and the Illinois Central spent three or four times this amount trying to hang me, and then they had all the legal machinery of the county at their service. The Grand Lodge officers did not put up the money. If my life had depended on money, and then depended on the Grand Lodge officers to pay this money, then I would have been hung a hundred times. This money came from the membership of the Grand Lodge organizations—the very people I served and stayed on the job for when they were deserted by the Grand Lodge officers, as the records will show they were. And if in this case it cost them 45 cents apiece, it cost me four years' time; and I am not crying over what it cost me, but consider it well worth while. I could have run away from the fight in the beginning and have gone to work, like many others did, and worked eight hours a day instead of twenty hours on strike duty.

In Jack Buckalew's letter of December 30, 1913, to G. C. Martin, of Somerset, Ky., he states that "PERSON PUT MONEY IN THE *STRIKE BULLETIN*." Jack Buckalew knew this, and when his District didn't have enough money to meet the weekly payrolls to the men on the line, I went out and got it, and Jack Buckalew, as well as President L. M. Hawver, of the District, knew this. And Jack Buckalew knew that the District never paid me one cent for my services to them as Secretary, and here is an International President—M. F. Ryan, of the Carmen—crying because his members on strike put out 45 cents apiece to keep the Illinois Central from hanging me, after he had found out that he couldn't kill the Federation.

After Jack Buckalew and all his staff in Washington had

to go and hide themselves, after making an effort to break the strike, the Illinois Central strike-breakers decided that they were going to move the "rebel camp." But in justice to the Illinois Central strike-breakers, I want to say that they were honest about it. They stormed the camp and said it was time to move out, but they found Jack Buckalew's wayward child, "Brass Tacks," very much alive and refusing to move, but, instead, moving one of the strike-breakers. The rebel camp stood and was very much on the job again when the Grand Lodge officers tried to call the strike off in November, 1914. Mr. Ryan thought that the seven months in jail had softened me up so that I would go along with them in this undertaking, but when he found out that I wouldn't, I was an ingrate. And did M. F. Ryan not admit in the Kansas City convention in 1916 that he said that it was too bad that I wasn't hung. This is the best evidence I have that I served the common cause and stood on the side that was worth while, for should the time ever come when Mr. Ryan and some of the Grand Lodge officers I met during the strike would say that I was a fine fellow, then I would at once know that I was wrong, and that it was time to jump in the river, or get across the line some other way.

The men on strike were now deserted, as far as financial support was concerned. The only organization that agreed to pay their men if they voted not to declare the strike off was the Blacksmiths; therefore, the strike was not now costing the other organizations any money. Up until this time the cry had been that the strike was a drain on their treasury, and now that the calling off of the strike knocked this crutch from under them, you might assume that they would let the strike run along, as it was no expense to them and they could gain nothing by calling it off, because the company would grant no concessions. But if you found out that the same desire was there to call off the strike after it was established, that it did not cost them anything, as there was when the strike was a drain on their treasuries. Then there must have been some

other motive and desire in the first place. Outside of that excuse they put up. A drain upon their treasury.

Mr. A. O. Wharton, in a letter dated St. Louis, Mo., December 1, 1914, in which the *Strike Bulletin* and the *Railway Federationist* are given unfavorable mention, states, in part: "If the strikers vote to continue the strike without benefits, then they have decided the question for *the time being*."

Take particular notice to the term, "*the time being*." This indicates that if they are not successful in their attempt at this time, something else is going to happen. This statement was made before Mr. Wharton knew what the result of the vote was going to be.

Let me call your attention to Mr. Johnston, of the Machinists. He talks very interestingly on page 253 of the March issue of the *Machinists' Journal* for 1915, paragraph 5, under the caption of "The Illinois Central and Harriman Lines Strikes":

The question of whether these strikes should be continued or discontinued was submitted to the men involved, with the distinct understanding that no further benefits would be paid. A vote was taken and a majority of those who voted favored continuing the strike. I feel confident, however, that were it not for the pernicious influence that was brought to bear by certain self-appointed leaders, who are serving their own selfish interest, the recent vote would have resulted differently.

Some of those who recently voted in favor of continuing the strike are now suggesting that another ballot be taken, and the entire membership be given a chance to decide this question. If the Machinists only were concerned, the matter could be disposed of quickly, but as it is a Federation affair, we must be governed by the majority.

I do not need any further proof than Mr. Johnston's own statement to show you what Mr. Johnston's desires and intentions were when the vote was submitted to the men. The strikers licked him and now he is giving the "self-appointed leaders" credit for putting it all over him and his entire staff. Wouldn't he and his messengers be easy money for those that have brains and money, when a fellow can appoint himself a leader and force Johnston to look for shelter, as Mr. Johnston is admitting? If he had any self-respect at all, he

wouldn't come out and admit it in his own journal, but he hasn't got brains enough to realize that he was only discrediting himself by coming out crying after he was licked. He further tries to convey that the strikers who voted to continue the strike have come to him with prayers to give them another opportunity to vote, as they made a mistake. Here Mr. Johnston deliberately lies; some of his colleagues in the "inner circle" are the ones that suggested this to him.

He ends up by stating "*that inasmuch as it is a federation affair, we must be governed by the majority. Had it only been the machinists that were concerned, he would dispose of it quickly.*"

You have it from Mr. Johnston direct that there is no majority rule in the Machinists' organization. He will decide what and what not the Machinists can do. It did not take us very long to find out that the Railway Department as well were not concerned in what the majority did, for they finally took the majority's decision and threw it in the waste basket. And his very statements in the March issue, as above quoted, indicate that although the vote had been taken, and the strikers found true, they have something else up their sleeves. In view of the fact that the strike is not costing him or the Association one cent at this time, or had not cost him anything since the first of December, 1914, why are they so anxious to have it declared off? It was costing the railroad companies \$7,000,000 per month (Johnston's admission in his circular letter of March 11, 1912) and the Association nothing at this time.

Possibly Mr. Johnston had some of his friends scabbing on the roads and wanted to relieve them of the "unpleasantness." He must have had larger reasons, but it may be of interest to know what the Executive Board member, Chas. Nicholson, of the I. A. of M., says in his letter dated at Colorado Springs, Colo., May 29, 1915, and addressed to Mr. A. O. Wharton at St. Louis, Mo. Paragraph 2:

The cog road going up Pike's Peak are paying 20 cents per hour. I was up there today. I have had one meeting with our men. They

are, or were, on the verge of a bad split on account of one man going to work on the "Short Line," with permission from Brother Johnston eight months ago. He has been paying his dues here all this time and is still in good standing, and now, about the time the strike is to be "called off," some of them want to expel him, and have preferred charges, and it has played h—— under the circumstances. I got them to withdraw them, to give me a chance to do something. I have got things lined up in good shape. The hatchet is buried.

According to Mr. Nicholson, Johnston must have put his friends to work on the struck roads about September, 1914, as he had worked there eight months. The important part of Mr. Nicholson's letter is the fact that Mr. Nicholson is aware of the fact that the strike is "about to be called off." Take notice of this. They asked the men to do it themselves in November, 1914, and they refused; but you can see where plans are now being laid to pull off another shady job, can't you?

The Grand Lodge officers continued to cry in the columns of their journals over the fact that they were defeated on the strike vote proposition as submitted in November, 1914, and for further information to substantiate this I am introducing several points from the strike zone:

STRIKE BULLETIN

Clinton, Ill., Wednesday, March 17, 1915

FRANK CONNOR, THE POET OF WATERLOO, RAPE PRESIDENT JOHNSTON

Well Known Writer Makes Urgent Demand for Militant Unionism
WATERLOO, IOWA, March 17.

Now that the United States Industrial Relations Commission has set a definite date (April 5) to take up the matter of the Shopmen's strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines and the Pere Marquette, there is a probability that some of our Grand Lodge officers will make another effort to have a vote taken to have the strike declared off. As a forerunner of what may be expected if the true union men in the rank and file of organized labor do not get busy, we would refer you to the statement of International President Wm. H. Johnston, of the I. A. of M., which appeared on page 253 of the March issue of the *Machinists' Journal*, relative to the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike.

In this article you will find that one of our duly elected servants exposes himself under the spotlight in all his various colors. To enter

into a tirade of abuse and condemnation against such scab incubators is only a waste of time, we know, that what is urgently necessary is the recall from office of any or all such officers who have proven by their own conviction that they are no longer with the strikers in this long struggle.

The striking brothers who have proven to be staunch and true by staying on the field of battle through all the months of this strike are not looking for any bouquets; all we want is justice and the backing of other true union men throughout the rank and file of organized labor. We want something more substantial and more encouraging than being dubbed "self-appointed leaders" and being accused of "serving our own selfish purpose." If the fact that we have sacrificed nearly everything that was near and dear to ourselves and our loved ones is what would be termed "serving our own selfish purpose," then we must state that somebody's conception of the term is badly befuddled.

If forty thousand strikers cannot win a strike in a period of forty months, and our trusted and elected officers have not got the backbone to continue the strike for forty months longer, or forty times forty, if necessary, then, in the name of God, what incentive has an organization committee to go out among the unorganized and make them a present of the *Machinists' Journal* as a propaganda sheet for the purpose of trying to get the unorganized to join an organization whose International President admits in bold type that one of the largest and one of the very longest strikes of that organization, in his opinion, is a failure?

What standard of reasoning prompted Brother Wm. H. Johnston to make a detrimental statement of this kind? Is he utterly lacking of good common sense and true union principles, or was he never endowed with these virtues? Why these ever-saturating crocodile tears because he is unable to get these strikes voted to be declared off and the union turned into a scab-harboring institution?

If it is the tainted scab-earned money that they want in the form of dues from the reinstated and whitewashed scabs, in order to pay high salaries to Grand Lodge officers, who use their influence to have strikes called off, then the sooner we get busy and have a housecleaning, the sooner we will get a federated agreement on the struck roads and the present federated agreements on other roads renewed.

(Signed) FRANK CONNOR,
Secretary Machinists' Lodge No. 314, I. A. of M.

STRIKE BULLETIN

Clinton, Ill., Wednesday, March 31, 1915

OAKLAND WRITER STRIKES AT MACHINIST PRESIDENT IN DEFENSE OF STRIKERS

Strike Would Have Been Won if Grand Lodges Had Helped Instead of "Knocking" Strikers

OAKLAND, Cal., March 31.—It had been our purpose to let the little controversy which has arisen between the Grand Lodge officers on the one side and the rank and file of the strikers on the other side, on account of the latter's attitude toward the strike, die a natural

death. But we would be false to our trust if we did not take this opportunity to answer in a measure the wail of our Grand Lodge President, to be found on page 253 of the *Machinists' Journal* for the month of March, under the caption, "THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL AND HARRIMAN LINES STRIKE." After wailing about the cost, the article says, "We could not conscientiously continue to impoverish the organization, when there was not a single chance of success."

Speaking of success, that is something that can be attained only by going after it. Has the writer done anything to bring about the success which he laments so much about? The desired results in this warfare cannot be gained by laying down on the job and expecting the railroads to hand the workers their rights in some such miraculous manner as manna was sent down to the children of Israel. A great deal of the responsibility for not getting better results in our 40 months of strike is due, not to the men, who have been true to their principles, but to our leaders, who have been exactly the opposite.

But how pitiful is the next wail! After stating the circumstances leading up to the taking of the vote, which carried in favor of continuing the strike, he says: "I feel confident, however, that were it not for the pernicious influence that was brought to bear by self-appointed leaders, who are serving their own selfish interests, the recent vote would have resulted differently." Pray, what do you mean by "pernicious influence and selfish interests?" If any such influence was brought to bear in that strike vote, it was all on the side of the Grand Lodge officers, so beautifully outlined in their circular letter, when they used the influence of a discontinuance of strike benefits to force the men to call off the strike.

This is one point in our argument that they have never attempted to answer in a straight-forward manner. And now, because the true union men, who had a principle at stake, which was of more value to them than mere dollars and cents, voted to continue the strike, contrary to the wishes of their leaders, some one (the writer fails to mention any one specifically) is accused of using "pernicious influence." We will give the rank and file the benefit of the doubt, and say that when they voted THEY KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED.

As to the vote having been different had this influence not been brought to bear, it does not take an over-intelligent man, reading between the lines, to see where the hopes and desires of the writer lay in regard to this strike. If those are his views, will someone kindly inform the rank and file what we can expect from him in the way of co-operation in winning this fight. The echo resounds, NOTHING.

We come now to a statement which to us appears to be a case of handling the truth rather carelessly.

"Some of those who so recently voted in favor of continuing the strike are now suggesting that another ballot be taken, and the entire membership be given a chance to decide this question." Do you see the point? Try to get others who are not directly interested in this strike to out-vote us, and COMPEL US TO WORK WITH SCABS AND UNDER CONDITIONS THAT THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT. Fine scheme. It does not seem reasonable that any machinist who voted to continue the struggle (knowing at the time that the Grand Lodge was taking what little bread and butter he was getting out of his mouth) would so soon want to change his vote. All of us know, or ought to know, that conditions in the shops are becoming worse all the time. And

as to letting the entire membership vote on this question, we wish to say that this strike is not now costing the Grand Lodge any strike benefits at all. It is true that individual lodges are sending donations every month, showing that they realize how much the winning of this strike will benefit all organized labor. We are only too sorry that so few of them realize this. The time will come, however, when it will be impressed upon them under very unpleasant circumstances.

To the lodges who have been our main-stay through thick and thin, we say, God bless you who have stood by us against the opposition of railroad officials, gunmen, emissaries, traitors, scabs and last, but not least (though we are ashamed to have to confess it), the "queer" attitude of our Grand Lodge officers. But we are looking for the time to come when we will understand this queerness. Possibly some of the self-appointed leaders will then be in positions of trust, working for the benefit of the workers, even though they should happen to be strikers.

With best wishes to all, I am,

Yours fraternally,

JOHN ROBERTSON,
Secretary-Treasurer.

The little army that rallied around the *Strike Bulletin* could always be depended on to resent the frequent intrusions made by the Grand Lodge officers on the Federation. John Robertson, of Oakland, was a capable and loyal general. With him in Oakland, Cal., Stephen Taylor and Ed Merrill in Portland, Ore., the Federation on the Harriman Lines were well guarded.

There was no particular interest displayed in the strike situation on the Harriman Lines until John Collings, of Oakland, and later John Robertson, of the same city, and Stephen Taylor and Ed Merrill, of Portland, were elected to look after the situation on the Harriman Lines. These men took nothing for granted from the Grand Lodge officers or anyone else. Had the men who went on strike been fortunate enough to have these men look after the interest of the Federation from the inception of the strike, there would have been a different story to tell. But unfortunately they were not selected until the remote stages of the strike, when the Grand Lodge officers had made their rounds with their wrecking crews and were about to let the ship go under.

Let it be understood that whatever constructive effort was inaugurated on the Harriman Lines came through the Federa-

tion, and only through the Federation after being reorganized by the men I have mentioned from Oakland and Portland. The District officers of the Machinists and Boilermakers, Carmen and other organizations were a tame aggregation of individuals, and performed nothing in the interest of the Federation, and about as much for their respective Districts.

The International organizations involved in the strikes of course had their Organizers and Vice Presidents on the lines from time to time, but as far as the Federation and the adherence of its principles were concerned, these people were a dead issue. Even though some of them felt and realized that the program, as carried out by the International Presidents, was wrecking the movement. They were afraid to express themselves on this subject, and therefore had as much business representing the men on strike as one affected with lockjaw has in the pits of the Board of Trade.

The average labor leader we met during these strikes, that was connected to the International treasuries, complied with what he was pleased to term "playing the game," which is pretty well understood to mean "follow the lines of least resistance." Say nothing and do nothing. Simply ride along. And should some restless soldier make an inquiry as to their opinions on that of which happened to be the important subject, they would generally be informed "that, of course, I, as an International officer, can not afford to pass an opinion on such matters; that is for you men to decide." And after the conclusion of a diplomatic explanation, they generally agree with their new inquisitive friend, and simultaneously with a nudge or two, whisper, "Of course, this is confidential between you and me." And by playing this game they generally land their subjects. But the criminal portion of it is that in the next crowd, or cross-road, they meet someone else that they confidentially agree with, even though such agreement is diametrically opposed to the agreement arrived at with their previous friend.

Indeed, John Robertson, Stephen Taylor or Ed Merrill

did not belong to this tribe of nonessentials; they were men with convictions and decisions, with ideals and sincerity of purpose. They knew their positions, and could always be depended on to defend them under any and all circumstances. During the frequent and stormy developments of the strikes they always stood the test of the real pioneers in the common cause.

ANOTHER WAR DECLARED ON THE STRIKE BULLETIN

We have now arrived at a period of the strike where we have forced the machine to show their hand at frequent intervals, and there was only one thing that we had to drive them in a corner with—that was the *Strike Bulletin*. Every time the issue of the strike came up, and a question was to be decided among the Grand Lodge officers in the executive chambers of the Railway Department, some one of them would always put the question, “What will the *Strike Bulletin* say?” The *Strike Bulletin* seemed to be feared more than anything else. This little sheet, that was started on a shoestring, and that they had plastered injunctions against in every lodge room in the country, prohibiting the “worthy brothers” from reading it, and some of the brothers, of course, feared it like a colored Baptist preacher fears one of Robert Ingersoll’s books. But after it had weathered their abuse and persecution, it gained enough respect to warrant Mr. A. O. Wharton, the highest Judge in the Railroad department, to call it in and request that it be a tame little sheet for that period at least, while they go on exhibition with their strike vote proposition. Later on Mr. Johnston admitted that it was so pernicious, while they were performing, that they could not play their little drama as desired.

But there was still another act for them to play before the show was over. Something else they had to clean up before they could pull down the curtains on their “Lizard’s Trail,”

and as they could not depend on the *Strike Bulletin*, there was only one thing for them to do. One thing that they had to do to accomplish their end, and that was to "murder" the *Strike Bulletin*, being too cowardly to drive into the rebel nest with a "gas pipe" in the good old-fashioned way. Modern and scientific methods had to be employed.

After we licked them on the strike vote proposition, they realized that the *Strike Bulletin* had to be removed at any cost, and they started out with this purpose in view. Every little barking angel that would serve their church was pressed into service, and they performed well. Should the *Strike Bulletin* be mentioned in any lodge room, there instantly developed a riot for possession of the floor, among peanut-shaped individuals and powdered scissorbills who came with lard laid on their hair. They all knew that the *Strike Bulletin* was cleaning up a million a year for its self-appointed leaders; there was no question about that. The Federation was as illegitimate with them as it was with Mr. C. H. Markham and Julius Kruttschnitt in 1911. "Therefore, and whereas, that the *Strike Bulletin* was not endorsed by our beloved and honorable chief of our dear order of seven eyes and nine T's" (barks a suffering sister), "be it resolved that you, my dear, dear brothers, refrain from reading this aforementioned *Strike Bulletin* and as a substitute read carefully that which is prepared for you in our own beloved journal." (Motion carried, with prolonged applause.)

Between December 1, 1914, and March 24, 1915, they had been successful in building a good organization of willing workers to stand on guard and see that the *Strike Bulletin* would not get any support. The investigation of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines by the Industrial Commission had been set for April 7, 1915. We were making an effort to give this investigation as much publicity as possible, and were arranging to put out a special edition of the *Strike Bulletin*. The special edition was advertised in the weekly editions and when the "dips" saw what our intentions were they raved

like the inmates of an insane asylum. Here some time before they had put forth their best efforts to have the strike called off, before this investigation came up, and now the date for the investigation was set. And the *Strike Bulletin* still in existence, as well as making special preparations to give what was of interest to the strikers a wide range of publicity.

The Grand Lodge Presidents held a meeting in St. Louis, Mo., on March 24, 1915. Attorney Frank Comerford of Chicago was called down to this meeting. (Reference Minutes Executive Council Railway Department, March 24-27, 1915, see page 7.) Mr. Wharton introduced a letter that was sent and signed by I. J. Cundiff, secretary of the local federation of Chicago. This letter was calling the Railway Department's attention to some of its shortcomings, and therefore did not meet with their approval. Attorney Comerford was charged with writing the letter for Cundiff. Comerford plead his own case before this supreme court.

The next case on the docket was also against Attorney Comerford. But this time he was called on to defend the good name of the *Strike Bulletin*. Defending the *Strike Bulletin* in the chambers of the Executive Council was about as difficult as to try and defend the rights of the high cost of living in an east side bread riot of New York.

The trial proceeded something like this:

Wharton: I see you are going to capitalize the coming investigation of the Industrial Commission by sending out a special edition of the *Bulletin*.

Comerford: Yes, Person spoke to me about that and requested that he would be furnished with copy of proceedings for the *Bulletin*.

Wharton: Are you going to let Person have this?

Comerford: It is my intention to have a stenographer take all the notes from the time the hearings are started until finished.

Wharton: And you are going to let Person have the notes for the *Bulletin*, are you?

Comerford: I believe that too much publicity cannot be given to the case.

Wharton: Don't you think that you should take this matter up with the council first?

Comerford: I do not consider that it is my privilege to do so, but I have no reason to doubt that the greater publicity given to the strikers' side of the controversy, that better and greater results would follow.

We can here understand that the special publicity we had arranged to give to the investigation was not at all welcome by the cabinet members. They felt that Attorney Comerford should consult them before he had agreed to give any notes of a public United States hearing to the *Strike Bulletin*.

Another paragraph of the minutes of this meeting on page 7 also states: "*The attitude of Carl E. Person and the articles published in the Strike Bulletin also came up for a lengthy discussion.*" As I have said before, the *Strike Bulletin* was the paramount issue at all of their meetings. If this poor sheet had not been in existence they would have had no reason to ever call a meeting of their executive boards. The whipping the strikers and union men in general gave them through the *Strike Bulletin* in November, 1914, when they tried to declare the strike off, was buried deep into their hides, and because I would not agree to sit idly by like a good tame little boy when Wharton called me to St. Louis and asked me to do so, while they slipped it over on my best friends, the boys on the line, I, of course, had to meet the consequences that they could manufacture, and hang onto my door. Therefore, as the minutes state, Carl Person's attitude came up for a lengthy discussion. These discussions would wind up something like this:

Wharton, standing up with a copy of the *Bulletin* on exhibition, calling attention to reports from Chicago, Waterloo, Iowa; Oakland, and Portland, shaking one fist at Brother Ryan to irritate his emotions and giving Brother Johnston a sarcastic look to cause him to unfold his arms, as he continued:

Now here, my honorable colleagues, this man Person is nothing but an ingrate, an ingrate of the worst type; to allow this irresponsible crowd of Frisco, Oakland, Portland and Chicago to print such malicious statements. I say, brothers, statements that infringe upon the sincerity, integrity, efficiency and ability of you men here, my dear brothers. (He has now wakened them all up.) I now wish to call your attention to the next page of this miserable sheet run by the ingrate Carl Person. Here, here, I say, look here upon this page in a double column space he has set up the clamor of the wild ones from Danville, Ill., that irresponsible crowd of "Reds" that have done nothing for the home office, but sent their money to the Federation, I say here and now, if it wouldn't have been for the wild ones in Danville, this sheet would have been dead a long time ago, for, my dear brothers, it was those machinists in Danville that sent Person their money, so he could keep the nasty thing alive." (Johnston stands up and says amen.) "Yes, I say, my dear brothers, this ingrate at Clinton is the most dangerous man we have to contend with." (Ryan intrudes and says, "Why in h—l didn't we let them hang him?" Applause and prolonged applause.

"And here again, as you see, my dear brothers, on column 4 he allows the irresponsibles in Memphis, Tenn., to state that they want to continue this strike that has cost you men a million dollars that you had to go down in your own pockets for and besides borrow from the widows and children" (Johnston in laughter) "and, my dear brothers, here from Hempstead, Texas, is a cry for a general strike, and as you all know, when I won the Missouri Pacific I didn't ask anyone to assist *me* there. I say I fought and won that fight *alone*." (Protest by Franklin and Kline. Ryan remains neutral.) "Then here, as you see, in column 3 is the wail of Stephen Taylor and that man Merrill. They are both as crazy as John Robertson from Oakland, and they accuse you, you and Brother Ryan with getting rich and building up your treasuries in this strike." (Johnston jumps to the floor and hollers,

"That's right, by God! That's right! Ryan and some of you have got rich.") Wharton takes a drink of water, while Brother Scott admonishes Johnston for violating Robert's rules of procedure.

Wharton continues, "And I say to you here and now, this here ingrate Person is getting rich by publishing these stories of the irresponsibles. Then look upon page 4, my brothers, in an advertisement as well put up as the posters of Quaker Oats, he tries to boycott the railroads and asks the public to keep off the Southern Pacific when they go to the Frisco fair, and as you know, my dear brothers, the scabs on this road are now competent mechanics and good and ripe for membership in our associations (prolonged applause) and as I say, this is shameful." (Interrupted by Brother Ryan. "I ask the chair for permission to speak on this subject.") Wharton: "Brothers, I rest upon the application of my colleague, Ryan of the Carmen." (Prolonged applause.)

Mr. Ryan of the Carmen: I resent the attitude here by the gentleman from Washington, Brother Johnston, as he alluded to the wealth of my Brotherhood. The Brotherhood's business is strictly a craft proposition and should not interest the council members here.

Johnston: Say, Ryan, you didn't pay no strike benefits, did you?

The Chair: Both you gentlemen are out of order. The subject under discussion is the ingrate from Clinton and his miserable sheet.

Franklin: That's right; let us settle the question of the ingrate first.

Chair: Proceed, Mr. Ryan, on the subject before the council.

Ryan: I tell you, gentlemen, gentlemen of this noble council, that this *Strike Bulletin* must be dealt with and dealt with harshly; if it is allowed to live and live a little longer, I say to you, my dear brothers, that it will be more popular than even I, I who am the President of the B. of R. C. M. I, who

stood and won the applause of the machinist convention in 1911, at Davenport, Iowa, and made that famous speech that caused you, Brother Johnston, to declare your willingness that the machinists go on strike. I am so profoundly satisfied that if this sheet is allowed to live, it shall be able to some day have more power and popularity than I had in my palmiest days of 1911, when I stood on the platform and threatened to stop the wheels of progress by calling my men on strike. And I tell you, my beloved brothers, that I can see the handwriting on the horizon, for if it hadn't been for this miserable sheet in November, 1914, we would have had the strike called off, and I would now be collecting a tax on those splendid boys that Pat Richardson will organize. If I cannot break down the barriers and go in and take them. (Applause, prolonged applause.)

Franklin: I think that when Brother Ryan gives mention to the time when we soft-soaped Brother Johnston and the machinists in Davenport, Iowa, I should be given some credit.

Ryan: I make an apology to Brother Franklin, but I think he will concede that I made the speech that took down the house.

Johnston stands up in laughter: In justice to Brother Ryan I can testify that due to the personality of Brother Ryan and dressed as he was in his frock coat, he won the admiration of our boys.

Wharton and Scott exchanging smiles.

Heberling: Is that the time you gave the boys the "ill-advice," Ryan?

Wharton in enthusiastic applause.

Bray: Better not let the *Strike Bulletin* know Ryan was wronging them in 1911 and ill-advised the boys.

Kline in continued laughter.

Wharton: No, we must keep the council's business to ourselves.

Johnston: Oh, the animals have forgotten that a long time ago.

The Chair: Proceed, Brother Ryan.

Ryan: I believe my friend Johnston is right, that's all forgotten now, it sure would inconvenience me to have to admit that I sang the song of ill-advice them days. I think that my stand to declare the strike off now is good advice, for you know I seen Mr. Buckner of the Illinois Central and he said that we could arrange to run Pat Richardson's organization off the system, and that would be a grand victory for the Brotherhood.

The Chair: I must call Brother Ryan's attention to the subject before the council, which is the ingrate from Clinton. (Applause.)

Ryan: Pulling out a circular letter from his pocket, yes, my brothers, I have here for your close attention and inspection an exhibit that has come from Clinton, Ill., the home of the ingrate. He has again sent this letter to the locals of my Brotherhood and asking them for subscriptions to that nasty sheet, just as he has on other occasions, without my permission, sanction or authority. Yes, my brothers, he tries to get money to tell people that there is still a strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, and we, my dear brothers, know that there is not. (The audience in close attention.) And this letter is signed by this man Frank Comerford of Chicago.

Wharton jumps to his feet: What, Brother Ryan, signed by Comerford. Johnston, my good God! and brothers, what shall we do? What shall we do?

Franklin: Bring Comerford before the council. (Applause.)

Johnston: I second the motion.

The Chair: Ordered. Secretary Scott to serve an indictment on Attorney Comerford and bring hither before the learned members of the council.

Scott appears with his prisoner; profound silence prevails in the chambers.

Wharton: In justice to my honorable position, I ask Mr. Ryan to concede me my place as chief justice. I have

the profound wish to exercise same in cross-questioning Attorney Comerford.

Ryan: The pleasure is hereby conceded to the chief justice.

Wharton: I hold in my hand here a captured piece of evidence that is purported to come from the "rebel's nest" at Clinton, and it is signed by Frank Comerford. Are you, Mr. Comerford, its legal author and is the name herewith your signature?

Attorney Comerford, amused at the procedure, answered that is my name signed thereto, but I did not sign it.

Johnston: Then your name to that letter is a forgery?

Attorney Comerford: No; Person can use my name in anything he thinks will be of assistance to the boys on strike and the welfare of the *Strike Bulletin*.

Wharton: Yes, but if you did not sign this letter personally, it is a forgery. (Prolonged applause.)

Attorney Comerford: There were possibly eight or ten thousand of such circulars sent out. I have not the time to sit down and sign such a volume of letters. When a large amount of letters like this are sent out by anyone, whether it is a mail order house or a newspaper, the clerks and office help sign the names and signatures, and I assume that Person has the same system up there in Clinton.

Johnston: No, siree! Any signature that is not signed personally is a forgery.

Ryan: You are right, Brother Johnston; don't you think so, Franklin?

Franklin: Sure, any time my name is signed by someone else, that party forges my name.

Scott still wide awake.

Heberling, Bray and Kline discussing the progress of the labor movement.

Attorney Comerford reading the letter.

Wharton: My dear brothers, at last, at last, I am sure we

have the goods on the ingrate Person from Clinton. (Applause.)

Ryan: Oh, I am so happy. I think that this is the only letter in captivity.

Franklin: You're some sleuth, Brother Ryan, and must have some organization to be able to catch such big game as this.

Ryan: Oh, thank you, thank you, Franklin. You know I have been right on the job since the *Strike Bulletin* drove us in the hole in November on our strike proposition.

Attorney Comerford: May I have permission to read the letter to the council. (The house in silence.)

Kline: I make a motion that Attorney Comerford read the letter.

Bray: I second the motion.

The Chair: So ordered, Mr. Comerford.

Attorney Comerford, reading the letter:

FEDERATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES NOW ON STRIKE ON THE ILLINOIS
CENTRAL AND HARRIMAN LINES

CLINTON, ILL., February 26, 1916.

Dear Friend: We wrote to you some time ago and asked you to subscribe for a bundle of *Strike Bulletins*. As yet we have not heard from you. It is up to the labor movement to keep the public off the struck roads during the Frisco Fair, and in doing this we need your assistance to carry on a campaign of publicity against the roads on strike.

We asked your lodge to purchase a bundle of ten *Strike Bulletins* for one year, which will be ten dollars. If you cannot do this, please give us an order for five papers for one year, which will be five dollars. Make it possible for us to advertise the strike in your city. Won't you?

Please take this matter up at your next meeting and let us hear from you. I am,

Fraternally yours,

F. D. COMERFORD,
Attorney for the Men on Strike.

Make all money orders and checks payable to Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary.

That letter seems to be all right. Person is only using my name in an effort to advertise the strike more successfully and

he is welcome to use it, as long as he uses it for the good cause of the strike. I can see nothing wrong with this.

Ryan: That letter is a forgery (the house in excitement). It is a forgery because Comerford didn't sign his name to it; that was done by Person or others, and we never endorsed the *Strike Bulletin* anyway.

Franklin: That's right, Brother Ryan. Forgery is good.

Wharton: I make a motion that we notify all locals under the jurisdiction of this council that Carl Person has committed forgery. What do you say, my dear, dear brothers? (Applause and prolonged applause.)

Attorney Comerford: Carl Person has done nothing, only made an earnest effort to advertise the strike and thought that my name in the circular would bring the *Strike Bulletin* better results than his own signature or the signature of others connected with him.

Johnston: This is our only opportunity to go after the ingrate, regardless of the intent of the circular. We'll call it forgery and that will put a scare into the "brothers" and cut off the subscription list.

Wharton: I have a motion before the council.

Ryan: Second the motion. (The house in cheers.)

Attorney Comerford leaves the council chambers in disgust.

Johnston: Now for a call to arms, brothers. If we can successfully show this ingrate up as a forger, we can kill the *Strike Bulletin* and then declare off the strike. I want to suggest to Secretary Scott that when he sends this notice out to the locals to remind them that the injunction that we put on that miserable sheet in 1913 has never been taken off, and it would be a good idea to renew this injunction by putting another one on. (Applause.)

Franklin: Brother Scott, don't forget to mention that the *Bulletin* is not authorized by the council. I think this word "authorized" should be used, for that sure gets the brothers.

Wharton: Don't worry, brothers, we'll put on the skull and crossbone sign and spread your signature on profusely.

Kline: If you can now kill the *Strike Bulletin* and then declare the strike off, what's Brother Johnston going to do with his friend on the "Short Line"?

Johnston: That's simply a matter that concerns our association and should not be taken up in the council. You can leave that to myself and Brother Nicholson. We'll bury the hatchet.

Ryan: I think this will put a damper on capitalizing the hearings before the commission and teach Comerford a lesson that he has to consult us before a publicity campaign is started.

The meeting adjourned in roars of prolonged applause.

Of course, the Grand Lodge officers didn't care who signed the circular letters soliciting subscriptions for the *Strike Bulletin*, but anyone that did anything for it, in circular letters or otherwise, was an outlaw, of course. Now they were going to manufacture a case of forgery against me for advertising the strike and asking people to keep off the struck roads on their way to the Frisco Fair. If anyone had a complaint to make, then this was Attorney Comerford. Where and why should the Railway Department complain? Their names had not been used and, of course, I was fully aware of the fact that had I taken the liberty to use their names I would have injured the cause of the strike.

The injunction as served against the *Strike Bulletin* and as published in the *Strike Bulletin* in volume 3, No. 15, Wednesday, April 14, 1915, reads as follows, with my comments as also published in the same issue of the *Bulletin*:

A STAB IN THE BACK

TO ALL OFFICERS AND MEMBERS—GREETING:

We herewith submit a facsimile copy of a circular (the original of which we have in our possession), being one of several of a similar character that have been sent broadcast by or through the instrumentality of Carl E. Person:

FEDERATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES NOW ON STRIKE ON ILLINOIS CENTRAL
SYSTEM

Strike Headquarters, 117 South Monroe, Rooms 2 and 3, Clinton, Ill.
Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary, P. O. Box D.

CLINTON, ILL., February 26, 1915.

Dear Friend: We wrote you some time ago and asked you to subscribe for a bundle of *Strike Bulletins*. As yet we have not heard from you.

It is up to the labor movement to keep the public off the struck roads during the Frisco Fair and in doing this we need your assistance to carry on a campaign of publicity against the roads on strike.

We asked your lodge to purchase a bundle of ten *Strike Bulletins* for one year, which will be ten dollars. If you cannot do this, please give us an order for five papers for one year, which will be five dollars. Make it possible for us to advertise the strike in your city. Won't you?

Please take this matter up at your next meeting and let us hear from you. I am,

Fraternally yours,

F. D. COMERFORD,

Attorney for the Men on Strike.

Make all money orders and checks payable to Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary.

On March 25, 1915, Mr. Frank Comerford appeared before the Executive Council in St. Louis, Mo., in connection with the strike hearings to be held by the commission on Industrial Relations. He was shown the letter and declared the signature attached thereto as a forgery and that it was used without his knowledge or consent. Mr. Comerford was asked if he had ever issued or caused to be issued other similar circulars bearing his signature. His answer was "Never."

This letter bears the official seal of the Illinois Central System Federation, and while gotten out in Clinton, Ill., was enclosed in an envelope bearing the Chicago, Ill., postmark, showing that they had been transported to Chicago and mailed from the West Pullman Station.

The *Strike Bulletin* is not endorsed by the department or any of the affiliated organizations, and the purpose of this circular is to acquaint you with this fact, together with the methods adopted by C. E. Person in an effort to secure financial support.

Issued by the authority of the Executive Council of the Railway Employes' Department of the A. F. of L.

A. O. WHARTON, President.

JOHN SCOTT, Secretary-Treasurer.

Please read the above carefully. It is a reprint of a circular sent out by the department, and in it you will notice a letter sent out by me, to which I signed the name of our attorney, Frank Comerford.

I ask you to read carefully the comment of the department and then ask yourself why the department sent out this circular.

I signed Mr. Comerford's name to the letter I sent out asking for aid to keep the *Strike Bulletin* alive, believing that his name would get better results than my own, and knowing that Mr. Comerford wanted

the *Strike Bulletin* kept alive as a publicity weapon to fight the cause of the men on the firing line.

As you read the letter I sent out, which is now criticized by the department, you will notice that my single and only purpose was to keep the *Strike Bulletin* on the job and continue the fight on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. Was not, and is not, this the right thing to do? I am willing to admit that in the future, as in the past, I will do anything to keep up the fight and to that end I will try to keep in the field one unmuzzled newspaper that will speak out in behalf of the crowd known as the rank and file.

Why did the department issue this circular? I will tell you.

Because I refused to keep the *Strike Bulletin* silent when the idle, high-salaried Grand Lodge officers tried to call off the strike and by so doing put the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines on the fair list, make scabs of the thirty-five thousand men who have so gallantly fought for unionism, and make heroes out of the scabs in the bull pens. Mr. Wharton sent for me to come to St. Louis, Mo., and there he told me that the department wanted the *Strike Bulletin* to lay off from attacking the Grand Lodge officers for sending out a vote to call off the strike. I refused to be a traitor to the rank and file then, and I have not changed my mind since.

The Grand Lodge officers had an idea that the *Strike Bulletin* belonged to them. I was publishing the *Strike Bulletin* for ALL of the men on strike, and have always thought that the columns of our paper belong as much to the man who wears overalls as to the man who lives off of him. The *Strike Bulletin* may be compelled to suspend because of a lack of money to pay the printer, but it will never cease to be the paper of the rank and file as long as I have anything to do with it.

The department is guilty of at least one deliberate lie in its attempt to kill the *Strike Bulletin*. In the second paragraph of the department's circular you will notice the following words:

"This letter bears the official seal of the Illinois Central System Federation, and while gotten out in Clinton, Ill., was enclosed in an envelope bearing the Chicago, Ill., postmark," etc.

If your lodge received a letter to which I signed the name of Attorney Comerford, by examining the envelope you will find it is postmarked Clinton, Ill., and you will thus have positive proof that the department lied in an effort to make it appear that I sent the letters to Chicago to have them mailed. I do not know why they told this silly lie any more than I know why they sent out the cowardly circular.

Now please read paragraph three of their circular and you will have the real reason for the attack upon me. It reads:

"THE STRIKE BULLETIN IS NOT ENDORSED BY THE DEPARTMENT OR ANY OF THE AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE PURPOSE OF THIS CIRCULAR IS TO ACQUAINT YOU WITH THIS FACT, TOGETHER WITH THE METHODS ADOPTED BY C. E. PERSON IN AN EFFORT TO SECURE FINANCIAL SUPPORT."

Why does the department take pains to advise the labor movement that the *Strike Bulletin* is not endorsed by it? The *Strike Bulletin* is the paper of the men on strike and has fought for the cause. Isn't this a hint to kill the *Strike Bulletin* because it has chosen to fight for all of the men rather than do the bidding of those whose salaries went on while we suffered in the trenches?

But you will note they say this letter was sent out by me to secure financial support. Yes, to secure financial support to maintain the *Strike Bulletin*—not to maintain Carl E. Person. I have never expected nor wanted pay for serving the cause. No one knows this fact better than the Grand Lodge officers. I am not in the labor movement for what I can get out of it. The little money I had saved up at the time of the strike I have put into the fight and I have done it cheerfully. The only reason I have urged support for the *Strike Bulletin* is to keep up the fight.

The only thing that has been said against me by the plug hat gentlemen of the department is that in my eagerness to continue the fight I sent out a letter and signed Comerford's name to it, for the worthy purpose of getting subscriptions to the *Strike Bulletin*, so that we would not be forced to shut down and give up the ghost. I would have expected such a stab in the back from the Illinois Central, but coming as it does from the aristocrats in the Railway Employees' Department, I blush with shame for them.

If Mr. Comerford had not been confined to his bed with a broken leg at the time I would have asked him to sign the letter, and I am sure that he would have done it gladly. Because of his condition I did not want to bother him, and knowing his desire that the *Strike Bulletin* be kept alive, at least until the Industrial Commission should have heard our case, I went ahead and signed Mr. Comerford's name. As long as Mr. Comerford does not object, why should Wharton, Johnston and their associates in the Railway Employees' Department?

April 14, 1915.

CARL PERSON.

In volume 3, No. 16, of the *Strike Bulletin* I made the following statement, which will give us further light on the situation:

FROM COMERFORD

We quote herewith Mr. Comerford's statement with respect to the circular letter sent out by A. O. Wharton of the Railways Employees' Department and the circular letter sent out by William H. Johnston, President of the Machinists, the gentlemen who have set out to kill the *Strike Bulletin* on the grounds that Mr. Comerford's name had been used on circulars sent out by Carl Person:

CHICAGO, April 15, 1915.

MR. CARL PERSON,
Editor *Strike Bulletin*,
Clinton, Ill.

My Dear Person: I am in receipt of a large number of letters asking information concerning a letter issued by you on February 26, 1915, to which my name was signed.

Tomorrow I enter Mercy Hospital to undergo an operation which will keep me in the hospital for about ten weeks and as I feel it my duty to make a statement in justice to all concerned, I therefore send you a copy of a letter addressed to me by Stephen Taylor, secretary of Rose City Local, System Federation, Harriman Lines, Portland, Ore., and my answer thereto.

I ask my other correspondents to consider this statement as an answer to their letters. It contains the facts as I know them. With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FRANK COMERFORD.

PORTLAND, ORE., April 5, 1915.

MR. FRANK COMERFORD,
905 Ashland Block,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: I am in receipt of a letter signed by A. O. Wharton, President of Railway Employees' Department, also signed by John Scott. Above the letter is a facsimile of one coming from the System Federation of the Illinois Central dated February 26, 1915, with your signature attached thereto. It is alleged that such signature is a forgery, you having so stated at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Railway Employees' Department, held March 25, 1915, and that you have never given any sanction to have letters come out over your signature.

The members of Rose City Local would like to know if you consider such a signature a forgery in intent and whether the motive in using same was ulterior or whether you endorse the obvious intent of the Railways Employees' Department to kill the *Strike Bulletin* and probably take away Carl Person's card. The members of Rose City Local would like to have your personal opinion, as you are the party concerned, and as we wish to be in a position to act intelligently by knowing all of the facts. With best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

STEPHEN TAYLOR,

Secretary Rose City Local, System Federation, Harriman Lines.
209 Alisky Bldg., Portland, Ore.

CHICAGO, April 15, 1915.

MR. STEPHEN TAYLOR,
Secretary Rose City Local,
System Federation, Harriman Lines.

My Dear Taylor: Replying to your favor of the 5th inst., I submit the following statement as my knowledge of the matter concerning which you make inquiry. On February 26, 1915, Carl E. Person sent out a letter asking subscriptions to the *Strike Bulletin*, to which he signed my name without my consent. At the time the letter was sent out I was in a critical condition and was confined to my bed with a broken leg.

While Person used my name without consulting me, it was not for his own gain. THE OBJECT FOR WHICH HE USED IT WAS TO KEEP ALIVE THE *STRIKE BULLETIN*. I CONSIDER THIS A WORTHY OBJECT. THE *STRIKE BULLETIN* IS A NECESSARY WEAPON AS LONG AS THE STRIKE LASTS.

Person's explanation to me is that he did not wish to trouble me while I was so very ill and that his knowledge of my often expressed desire that the *Bulletin* be kept alive caused him to use my name without first securing my consent.

Sincerely,

FRANK COMERFORD.

NOTE.—Mr. Comerford says, "I CONSIDER THIS A WORTHY OBJECT. THE *STRIKE BULLETIN* IS A NECESSARY WEAPON AS LONG AS THE STRIKE LASTS." Mr. Johnston, the gentleman from Washington, and A. O. Wharton of the Railway Employees' Department started out to KILL THE *STRIKE BULLETIN* by accusing us of forgery, because we took the liberty of using Mr. Comerford's name to get subscriptions for the *Strike Bulletin*. Mr. Comerford said this is a worthy purpose. In other words, it is perfectly all right with him; he had no OBJECTIONS TO MAKE.

But Mr. Johnston and Mr. Wharton do make serious objections to our use of Mr. Comerford's name. WHY? Because they realize that the use of Mr. Comerford's name is an ASSET TO THE *STRIKE BULLETIN*, an aid in its progress, and a power of resistance against the efforts of the above-mentioned gentlemen to KILL THIS PUBLICATION.

AND WHY IS THE *STRIKE BULLETIN* TO BE KILLED?

Because it is an open press, because Sam Jones and Bill Smith, who have been on strike for forty-four months and have paid the price demanded of them in this fight, are allowed to sing their song in the *Strike Bulletin* without any "trimmings" being put on what they have to say, because I refuse to censor the say-so of Jones and Smith, but leave it to YOU to decide whether they are right or wrong, because we make the *Strike Bulletin* AN OPEN PRESS.

Several months ago the strike was to be called off. All the machines were lined up for action toward this end. The little messenger boys who, right or wrong, do the things they are told to do by the BIG BOSS, got their instructions. I also got my instructions, but I REFUSED TO OBEY. I asked myself the reasons for this, and by so doing, became an unfaithful servant—a disobedient slave. I told you in the *Strike Bulletin* my position on the matter of calling off the strike and invited you to state yours. I insisted that we must at least talk the matter over, as it was the most important issue that had come up since the inception of the strike.

You and the rest of us talked it over, and what was the result? WE WON. We kept the movement from being disgraced by calling off the strike and whitewashing the scabs. We fought the entire machine—all of the machines in the labor movement that had set out to whitewash the scabs—and we beat them.

This defeat gave them to understand that before UNDERTAKING AGAIN TO CALL OFF THE STRIKE, THE *STRIKE BULLETIN* MUST BE KILLED. And the fight to kill it is now on. The statement that the *Strike Bulletin* sent out letters to which Mr. Comerford's name had been forged is an effort to poison your mind against the *Strike Bulletin*. But Mr. Comerford states the object was a worthy one. I knew where I stood. Mr. Comerford is my friend, and he is so much a friend to all the strikers that if borrowing his name is of any benefit to the cause, I am welcome to use it. I wonder if Wharton and Johnston would not like to have a friend so near and dear to them that they could use his name without the formality of asking his permission to do so? What is the matter, Wharton and Johnston? Are you jealous because I possess this fortune of friendship with Mr. Comerford, which you probably could not purchase for a mountain of gold?

Now, why was the *Strike Bulletin* to be boycotted at this particular time? Because we had made extensive preparations to advertise

the strike and place before all the people the facts brought out in the Industrial Commission's investigation of the strike. There was danger that this publicity would revive interest in the strike and, therefore, the BLOW HAD TO BE STRUCK NOW.

The special edition carrying the proceedings of this investigation will be somewhat delayed, but within the next few weeks it will be ready for distribution. We have gone to much expense in preparing it. We have circularized the entire country asking for orders, AND WE DEPEND UPON THE ARMY OF MEN WHO ARE WITH US TO SEE THAT WE GET AN ORDER FROM YOUR LODGE. The *Strike Bulletin* fought your fight WHEN THE MACHINE STARTED OUT TO WHITEWASH THE SCABS. THE SAME MACHINE HAS NOW STARTED OUT TO KILL THE *STRIKE BULLETIN*. NOW THE *STRIKE BULLETIN* NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT. Go to the next meeting of your union and see that we get it. Your secretary has one of our circulars asking for a bundle order.

If you are for fair play, you will see that this is done as a protest against the action WHARTON AND JOHNSTON HAVE TAKEN TO KILL THE *STRIKE BULLETIN*. IF YOU ARE IN THE FIGHT, LET US HEAR FROM YOU NOW.

April 21, 1914.

CARL PERSON.

Let me call your attention to a statement made by Mr. William Hannon, who was the Machinists' representative on the Pacific lines up until October, 1914. In the *Machinists' Journal*, pages 259 and 260, March issue for 1915, Hannon says: "*The executive committee of the Lodges Nos. 68, 284 and 610 are getting out a letter requesting the labor movement to organize publicity committees in every city and request the public to arrange their transportation when going to the San Francisco Fair, so that they will not travel over the lines on strike.*" This was the last report that Hannon made on the strike during its progress. He was sent away in the contract field, where he could not say anything about the strike. Hannon cooked his own goose when he played up the strike, for Johnston gave him a route where he couldn't.

The letter from the Machinists Lodges Nos. 68, 284 and 610 was boycotted by the Railway Department and commented on unfavorably by George Preston in his famous article "Render Unto Cæsar the Things Which Are Cæsar's" in the 1915 *Machinist Journal*.

So you see that the *Strike Bulletin* was not the only one

they went after. Hannon was sent to the sticks and the letters by the Machinist Lodges Nos. 68, 284 and 610 got about the same reception as a copy of the *Strike Bulletin* would get. Any one, any place that did anything that would advertise or benefit the progress of the strike was jumped upon, and they jumped in such a crude way that anyone who studied the movement realized that they had gone over to the railroad companies. That there was a "sell-out" planned some place, somewhere. This had been noticeable for a long time, but the longer they were forced to hang on, the more conspicuous it became.

They got together and worked under the Federated plan in making this letter, charging me with forgery as effectively as possible. The charges were sent out through the Railway Department. You see, they knew how to get together when they wanted to get the best possible results. And they wanted to get results on their manufactured forgery proposition for several reasons. First, to kill the *Strike Bulletin*, so that they could declare the strike off, without meeting with the protest and criticism, in the way of publicity, that they met with in November, 1914, when they submitted their proposition to the men. And, second, they did not want any publicity on the Industrial Relations hearings; that is, the railroads companies did not want it. Now that the railway departments had been absorbed by the railroads, it was up to them to deliver the goods. When the railroads want publicity they advertise conspicuously in all of the big papers, but no one noticed where they bought any space to educate the public on the methods used by them in the strike. How they got their strike-breakers, what they paid them. To get this information out would be beneficial to the men on strike, and if anyone was going to get it out the strikers had to do so. But the Railway Department said nothing doing on that noise, for as soon as they heard that we were going to give it special publicity, in a special edition, the council was called together and Attorney Comerford sent for. He was asked what he had to

do with it, and why he didn't take such matter up with the said Railway Department. He had been engaged to handle the investigation before the commission and I had simply asked him to see that I would get the notes of the hearing, so that I could publish them, but he was blamed for the entire publicity proposition, and therefore called in on the carpet.

The "worthy brothers" received the indictments from the Railway Department. Of course, I was a forger; there was no question about that. As I slumbered there in my nest, I could see the barnyard element everywhere, regretting the day they donated a dime to my defense fund in the murder trial and swearing vengeance on the *Strike Bulletin*. Those that were getting the paper (outside of a few places) and were still interested enough to read it, did so in their privacy, for fear someone would find out that they read the sheet and send their name into the Grand Lodge, after which they would be placed under as much suspicion as a German citizen in London or Paris.

THE AUGUSTA RESOLUTION

On April 19, 1915, Lodge No. 544, I. A. of M., at Augusta, Ga., protested in the form of a resolution against the action of the Grand Lodge in discontinuing the strike benefits of Mr. J. J. Bush, who had been on strike for 47 weeks on the Wrightsville and Tennile Railroad, without first consulting Lodge No. 544, I. A. of M. This resolution was sent to President Johnston of the Machinists and a copy to the *Strike Bulletin* for publication. The resolution is herewith quoted in full:

AUGUSTA, GA., April 19, 1915.

RESOLUTION OF LODGE NO. 544, I. A. OF M.

WHEREAS, We have received a communication from Brother George Preston, dated April 9, 1915, advising us that he had been instructed to advise that after thirty days from date that further benefits to Brother J. J. Bush, who has been on strike at the Wrightsville & Tennile Railway for 47 weeks, at Tennile, Ga., without even consulting the members of No. 544 as to the advisability of discontinuing said benefits, or as to the merits of the case; and

WHEREAS, We believe this to be a violation of Article VIII, Section 5, in that no effort has been made by the Grand Lodge officers to settle this strike and that the strike has not been called off or the proposition submitted to the men on strike; and

WHEREAS, The benefits paid to this one member is only a small expense to the Grand Lodge, and a large per cent of the sum total of the expense that the Grand Lodge is put to by No. 544; and

WHEREAS, We believe with proper support from the Grand Lodge this strike can be successfully won, the same as the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines could be if properly supported; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of No. 544, bitterly protest against the undue advantage taken by our Grand Lodge officers and that we are tired of too much constituted authority, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to our International President, the Journal for official publication, and Executive Board and the *Strike Bulletin* for publication.

(Signed) COMMITTEE.

PAUL B. FRITCHARD, President No. 544.

F. M. HARGROVE, Recording Secretary.

W. T. RIZER, Chairman.

After receiving the resolution from Local No. 544, International Association of Machinists, the following telegram was received from Chairman Rizer of the Resolution Committee:

TELEGRAM

AUGUSTA, GA., 11:12 A. M., April 26, 1915.

CARL E. PERSON,
Clinton, Ill.

President Johnston wired Secretary Lodge No. 544 to withhold resolution from *Strike Bulletin* pending letter. He wrote me that if we did not take steps to recall resolution he would take action against 544. Willing to continue the benefits of Bush. Use own judgment about publishing. Letter follows:

W. T. RIZER.

1:36 P. M.

We have now heard from Mr. Rizer, and let us put him on the stand:

AUGUSTA, GA., April 26, 1915.

My Dear Person: I just wired you about Johnston's letter and I am sending it to you. I just got it this morning, as I never put my street address in my letter to Johnston. He sent the letter care of Brother Hargrove, the Secretary, but as soon as he got my letter he wired Hargrove to withhold resolution to *Strike Bulletin*, pending arrival of letter, but it happened that Brother Hargrove was out of town to the State Convention at Columbus, Ga., and he said Fechner jumped him about the resolution as soon as he got there and was awful sore about it, so I judge they have been pretty busy trying to stop it.

I am so mad at Johnston I could give him a good cussing out if I was to see him.

Write me right away what you think I ought to do about it, and whether you publish the resolution or not.

So far as I am concerned, I would like to see the resolution come out and make a fight with him, but as I am figuring on leaving in the next few days in search of a job, it will be inconvenient for me to make a stand with him.

Trusting to hear from you at once, I am,

Yours for the cause,

(Signed) W. T. RIZER.

As you will note, Mr. Rizer says that he had received the letter from Johnston and we will let Mr. Johnston speak for himself:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 22, 1915.

MR. W. T. RIZER,

Ch. Comm. No. 544.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your esteemed favor of the 20th enclosing copy of resolution adopted by No. 544, in connection with strike benefits in behalf of Brother J. J. Bush, received and contents noted, and in reply beg to say at a recent meeting of the G. E. B., Brother Preston was instructed to communicate with all points where strikes had been in effect for a long time and advise them to take such steps necessary to secure work for the strikers and to further advise them that benefits would be discontinued at an early date.

It was the intention of the board where there was sufficient reason for maintaining the pickets, some would be continued, but we do know that in a number of instances there are a large number of men drawing strike benefits for a long time who could secure work if they desired work. This is clearly evidenced by letters received and from experiences of the past.

In your case we would be glad to make an exception and continue benefits to Brother Bush. The letter was a general one to all points, and was not meant especially for you.

I note that your resolution provides copy be sent the *I. P. Journal*, Executive Board and the *Strike Bulletin* for publication. I want to emphatically impress upon you that the *Strike Bulletin* is not approved or endorsed by our International or any other International union. It is owned and controlled by individual members, and if No. 544 sends a resolution to this *Strike Bulletin* for publication, reflecting upon the I. A. of M or in any way causes to be published matters that should be confined to our own organization, I will feel it my duty to take action against No. 544.

We should keep our business to ourselves, and try to adjust whatever differences there may be between ourselves, and until such time until every effort was made to reach an understanding with the Grand Lodge, you have no right whatever to send anything to the *Strike Bulletin*.

I want it definitely understood that we will not permit any of our official business that is intended for the use of our members only to be scattered broadcast in a publication that represents the views of one or two men. I am sending the Recording Secretary a copy of this letter.

We have all taken an obligation to keep to ourselves all business transactions of the organization, and by sending anything of this character to any paper, you are violating your obligation. You should at once take steps to modify your resolution and recall same if already sent to the *Bulletin*, otherwise we will be compelled to take action.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) W. H. JOHNSTON,
Int'l Pres.

President Johnston is just as diplomatic in this letter as he has tried to be throughout the strike. "He is trying to make the worthy brothers believe that the secrets of the I. A. of M. should not be known to the public." Indeed, in this he is right, for many bloody revolutions that are now but the records in history have been started with much less autocracy than Mr. Johnston displayed during the strike.

If we are still living in an age where the subjects will allow themselves to be prostituted, because they have taken an obligation to "BE LOYAL TO THE KING," then indeed let the drama go on, for such serfs are getting just what is coming to them.

Mr. Rizer's letter takes the cover off the entire situation. Note Mr. Johnston sending his stool pigeon Fechner to the Columbus convention to get after one of the members of Lodge No. 544 for sending the resolution out, and that they are busy trying to stop it. Like everything else they try to do, they get there too late. Any Broadway newsboy or bootblack could run away with the entire aggregation of them, and it would take them six months to find out that they had been lost.

In this case, Lodge No. 544 was able to maintain a man on the picket line because the *Strike Bulletin* was at their service. It, however, indicated that Mr. Johnston did not have very much use for the paper. He further states that his International union has not endorsed the *Strike Bulletin*. In this he was mistaken. The Machinist Convention in 1911, at

Davenport, endorsed and sanctioned the Illinois Central strike and was fully aware of the fact that it was a federated strike. This Federation was publishing the *Strike Bulletin*.

What Mr. Johnston meant to convey was that when he thought he had killed the Federation by putting its President, Mr. McCreery, to sleep in Paducah, and threatened Mr. Buckalew's job, an individual broke in on us and started the darn machine up again, and in doing so he did not put on the pneumatic tires or cushions on the seats. To make it worse, he started out on the rockiest roads he could find to give us a "shake-up," and he shook and he shook and shook, until he just had to get off, and therefore don't like the Federation. At any rate, Lodge No. 544, I. A. of M., were allowed to keep their man on the picket line for a little while longer.

The resolution from No. 544 was not published in the *Strike Bulletin*, as we did not want to jeopardize their opportunity of keeping their man Mr. Bush on the picket line. Had the resolution been published, Bush, of course, would have lost his job and there would have been no picket on the line. I am sure that no cheap politician from the palmiest days when New York was a village to the days of the 64th Congress would ever stoop to such a small cheap trick and then jump like a chicken with his head off when he was threatened with publicity. He will always try to hang on a constitutional fence when he gets caught up, and in this case he fell back on one of his ten commandments, which forbids anyone to mention outside "that which we may hear and see in the inner circle," for the fear that the "inner circle" would lose its standing among the thinking people if they knew that such was a part of their program. Any time any one individual or organization is afraid to turn the switch of publicity on that which they are performing there are some impure motives back of the curtains some place, somewhere, and during the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike there was nothing that was more feared among some of the Grand Lodge officers than publicity.

You will now better understand what we were up against.

Such agents as Fechner could be found any and everywhere, and here we stood facing the after-effects of the injunction issued by the Railway Department, and in addition I had several charges in the civil courts that took up my time. Therefore, we were facing a situation that we couldn't meet at that time; every effort was made to hang on until we could get the special edition for the Industrial Relation investigation of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike out, and this we were successful in doing. Those who knew anything at all about the situation knew that as soon as the *Strike Bulletin* was killed they would call the strike off.

THE STRIKE DECLARED OFF

Shortly after the *Strike Bulletin* made its valediction (for the want of sufficient support to keep it alive), the Railway Department called a meeting of the International Presidents to "*celebrate their victory*" and declare the strike off. To substantiate this I am placing the Executive Board of the Railway Department on the stand:

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1915.

To All Officers and Members of All Organizations Affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department—Greeting:

Among the many important matters receiving attention at the hands of the Executive Council of the Railway Employees' Department at its session, held at headquarters, St. Louis, Mo., during the week of May 24, 1915, was that of the long-standing strike of the shop employees of the Illinois Central, Harriman Lines and Pere Marquette Systems. In taking up these subjects for review, every phase of the question was carefully canvassed and given the fullest consideration.

We appreciate the fact that it is the duty of the general officers to exercise the functions of the offices to which elected in the interests of the membership as a whole. We have had your loyal support and co-operation, together with that of those directly affected, during the three years and eight months that these strikes have been in existence, and after using every honorable means at our command, we have been unable to bring about an adjustment. We are, therefore, unanimously of the opinion that the time has arrived when it becomes our duty to take definite action and terminate these strikes.

Due to the fact that these strikes were inaugurated prior to the adoption of laws and rules of procedure now governing the department, *some of the Executive Council members felt that the laws of their respective organizations were such that they could not vote with the*

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

majority, but would abide by the decision of the council in accordance with the laws of the department enacted at the Kansas City Convention, April, 1914, at which time the delegates by unanimous vote placed these strikes directly under the supervision of the department officers and council members.

Therefore, it is the decision of the department that the strikes on the Illinois Central, Harriman Lines and Pere Marquette Systems are declared officially at an end on and after 10 a. m. June 28, 1915.

With best wishes, we are,

Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
President International Association of Machinists.

J. A. FRANKLIN,
President Brotherhood of Boilermakers.

JAS. W. KLINE,
President, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

MARTIN F. RYAN,
President Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

J. J. HYNES,
President Sheet Metal Workers.

JOHN SCOTT,
Secretary-Treasurer Railway Employees' Department.

A. O. WHARTON,
President Railway Employees' Department.

Mr. W. H. Johnston, President of the Machinists; Mr. M. F. Ryan, President of the Carmen, and J. J. Hynes, President of the Sheet Metal Workers, voted in favor of calling the strike off. Mr. J. W. Kline, President of the Blacksmiths, and J. A. Franklin, President of the Boilermakers, voted not to declare the strike off. The circular letter announcing the railroad company's victory was sent broadcast all over the country.

This was the end of the greatest railroad strike in history. Declared on Sept. 30, 1911, and declared off on June 28, 1915, played for 45 continuous months, during which time it depleted the treasuries of the railroad companies and caused *pretended* labor leaders to lay awake nights, wondering and worrying about their next month's wages.

Grand Lodge officers were forced to show their hand in this strike as never before. The strike was called off by the Grand Lodge Presidents and not by the men involved in the

strike; declared off six months after they had declared off the strike benefits, so at the time the strike was declared off it was not costing them one cent. And in declaring the strikes off the companies made the men no concessions, did not even offer them their old jobs back, or offer to take any number of them back; therefore, in declaring the strikes off it could benefit no one but the railroad companies and their strike breakers, for they were then taken off the unfair list of organized labor.

The Grand Lodge Presidents demonstrated one fact in calling the strike off, and that was that their *pretended* democracy and rule of the majority was sent to the scrap basket and substituted by the regime of czar-ocracy. As they spoke out in the pulpits to the crowd, they would hold up the angle of democracy and flatter a government by the people, until the crowd applauded enthusiastically, and upon this they made their campaign speeches. When they wanted to gratify their own nefarious desires on the other side of the curtains in the game, they step on the decision of the people involved, like a mountain trapper does on a rattler. And, indeed, this they did in calling off the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes. They stepped on the decisions of those involved and again in playing before the spot lights to the crowd they resurrected the same democracy that they have punished and insulted and waved it before the crowd that there may be more applause. So the game goes on and on and on, like Barnum's moving palace, to catch its new army of victims and leave them stranded, stripped and deserted in the morning's misty dawn, that they can go to the waiting cities beyond and play to the crowds that don't know as yet that they are going to be stung.

Mr. W. H. Johnston, in the *Machinists' Journal*, page 253, for March, 1915, states "that inasmuch as this was a Federation strike the majority must be considered." On the 24th day of May, 1915, demonstrated that he did not mean anything of the kind, for at this time, two months later, he said, "to h—l with the majority; I and I alone must decide this

question of legalizing the strike breakers. I therefore declare the strike off."

Mr. A. O. Wharton of the Railway Department in his very interesting circular of Dec. 1, 1914, written after he realized that he could not induce the men to declare the strike off, says in part:

To discontinue strike benefits without giving the men a chance to say whether or not they desired to continue the strike under such conditions would have been unfair to those who have stood the brunt of the fight. We would have been accused of forcing the men to do one of two things, either quit the strike or go to work on the struck roads.

What was considered unfair by Mr. Wharton in December, 1914, was considered fair by him in May, 1915, and so on, with Haynes, Ryan, Johnston, Scott and others; neither one of them had a fixed decision; they didn't know where they were at. Like little children, they believe things and act on mere opinions. Like drunken sailors in mid-ocean, they know not where they are going and care much less.

And that you will further note how this decision in calling off the strikes was accepted by the rank and file, I am herewith submitting some testimonies from the boys on the line:

—:— DEAD —:—

—SYSTEM FEDERATION HARRIMAN LINES—

Born	Died
June, 1911	10 A. M. June 28th, 1916
Age 4 years	

Brief History of Short, but Eventful Career

Born in the beautiful city of Salt Lake, Utah, it was only 3 months old when its very life was assailed by Railroad Officials, gunmen, thugs, spotters and SCABS. On the 24th of May, 1915, in St. Louis, Mo., it was hit by a "machine" under the control of Johnston-Wharton-Executive-Board of the I. A. of M. Although this happened May 24th, it was not until June 24th, (one month later) that we, the chief

mourners, were made acquainted with this sad affair, thus rendering us unable to offer any assistance. She died PER ARRANGEMENT, Monday, June 28th, at 10 A. M. It is our belief, that had this "machine" been controlled by COMPETENT men, this could NEVER have happened. The REAL cause of accident—as yet unknown. Inquest to be held later.

N. B.—Please Omit Flowers.

R. I. F.

Bulletin No 106—FINAL.**

Oakland Local Federation Harriman Lines,

Oakland, Cal., June 29, 1915.

Brothers, Greetings:

The following is a paper clipping which appeared in the San Francisco issue of the "Examiner" of yesterday and the Oakland "Tribune" of last evening:

"S. P. Will Maintain Its OPEN SHOP POLICY. Announcement has been made at the Oakland mill that the action of the boilermakers and carmen WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT AS FAR AS THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC SERVICE WAS CONCERNED. The boilermakers in the West Oakland shops went on strike three years ago. Since that time the shops have been operated on the "open shop" policy. Now the Grand Lodge officers by their recent actions have endorsed it. The S. P. have operated under it for the last 45 months and will continue in the future to work under the same policy."

Not wishing to be outdone by either Grand Lodge officers or the S. P., we, the members of Oakland Local Federation of the Harriman Lines, now extinct by virtue of union officials (?), have made this the 106th issue of our bulletin, an open shop edition, wherein all who have a grievance can express same. We do not want to be placed

in the position of some Grand Lodge officers who are made acquainted with facts, but are not permitted to make the information public.

This issue is a **FREE FOR ALL**, consequently it is the expression of one of the most disgusted, humiliated, but yet honest, clean, courageous set of union men that can be found in any section of our land. They not only carry cards, but they have principles backing up their cards.

The Grand Lodge officers of the machinists, carmen and the sheet metal workers decided at a meeting held in the city of St. Louis, Mo., to officially declare off the strikes in force on the Harriman, Illinois Central and Pere Marquette roads. In justice to Brother Kline of the Blacksmiths and Brother Franklin of the Boilermakers, for they did not consider themselves capable of **USURPING** the wishes of the rank and file by consenting to call the strike off without giving their members a voice in the matter, so they sent out another strike vote after requesting the other Grand Lodge officers to withhold that damnable circular (which they were pleased to term number 64) until they heard from the rank and file by vote. **THIS WAS DENIED THEM.**

In reading one of the letters sent out to the membership, accompanied by a vote, is this significant sentence: "I hope that in time **THE TRUE REASON OF OUR DEFEAT WILL COME TO THE SURFACE.**" Brothers, it will be well to study the meaning of that sentence, as it is uttered by one of the International presidents, who has been in this fight from the very beginning and is no doubt aware of happenings which we, the rank and file, while great in numbers, are of little value in the estimation of some of the Grand Lodge officers when it comes to placing confidence in them. They always have something up their sleeve which they can't tell. It seems that they are very much afflicted at times with that terrible disease known as lockjaw.

We here in Oakland are greeted every hour of the day with this remark, "*Well, I hear that you have been sold out like a lot of dogs,*" and other remarks to the same effect. We want to say that it is pretty hard for a loyal bunch of union men to have to swallow this, but as we are UNABLE to REFUTE it, what else is there left for us to do but swallow it and hold our heads in shame? Not for any actions on our part, thank God, but for the actions of others.

We have at least done one thing for which we should feel proud of, and that is that we FORCED SOME OF THE GRAND LODGE OFFICERS TO TAKE ACTION DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO THE VOICE OF THE RANK AND FILE, and for such action believe that every UNION man who believes in the doctrine of DEMOCRACY—that is, THAT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE SHALL RULE—will condemn the actions of those Grand Lodge officers who so flagrantly violated this virtue. We have heard from time to time that the Grand Lodge officers have taken exceptions to some of the remarks when same either boldly or by "inuendo" referred to them as traitors to organized labor. We, having in mind circular No. 48, sent out to the rank and file of the strikers in November, 1914, asking them to vote on the calling off or continuing of the strike, telling us at the same time that, irrespective of which way the vote was cast, that we would receive no more benefits after December 1. YET in spite of this, voting with our eyes wide open, we decided with a MAJORITY vote to continue the strike.

Johnston has claimed at times that such action as he has just taken would be to the interest of the entire membership. We do not know whether this is so, but time will now tell. This we DO KNOW—that Johnston and the other Grand Lodge officers who have called this strike ARE TRAITORS TO THE INTERESTS OF THE

STRIKERS. WE WOULD WELCOME ANY DENIAL TO THIS LAST REMARK.

We have a letter addressed to a Machinist Lodge in Memphis, Tenn., by President Johnston (a copy of which we have in our possession), and in it he uses the following: "The strike should be declared off **BY THE MEN—THEY ARE THE ONES WHO VOTED IT ON.**" If the men in Memphis are **WISE** they will take action to have the proposition resubmitted to the entire membership." Did he wait for them to take this action that he begged for? **NO, NOT ON YOUR LIFE.** It is strange that what the Grand Lodge officers seem to be **WISE** to, the rank and file aren't able to see in the same light. We think the rank and file of the **ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP** will condemn this action to force the strikers to see things **AGAINST THEIR WILL.**

We have a clipping taken from the "Desert News" of Salt Lake, and it gives a statement credited to Charles T. Nicholson, one of the members of the General Executive Board of the Machinists. He stands equally condemned with Johnston in their recent action. He says:

"The order to call off the strike comes from the General Executive Council of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, and I **WAS ADVISED OF IT SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, BUT WAS NOT PERMITTED TO MAKE THE INFORMATION PUBLIC.**" (Another case of lockjaw.)

We would like to know if there is any significance in the fact that this strike is called off the latter part of June, which is the end of the company's fiscal year, when they (the company) are making their appropriations for the ensuing year? Again Nicholson says, "That with the settlement, many of the old employees will return to work here."

Does anyone know of the **SETTLEMENT** he refers to? If they do we would be pleased to hear what it is.

To us it is an UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER. But this last remark of his is a HUM-DINGER. Listen: "The Machinists gained many points by the strike." He certainly does not refer to the striking machinists. If others have gained through our defeat, we suppose that Nicholson thinks that we should be satisfied, but the question is, how long will they enjoy these privileges gained at the expense of others?

Now, to any brothers who contemplate working in any of these WHITE-WASHED, SCABBY DUMPS, take a little tip from those who know. The company is raising HELL with their scabs at the present time. If they raise hell with those who helped them in sore distress, WHAT WILL THEY DO TO THE UNION MAN WHO HAS BEEN FIGHTING THEM FOR 45 months? The answer is too fierce to contemplate. But we do hope that all those who have been hollering, "Why don't they call the strike off?" (and Johnston claims that it is this element largely that had forced him to usurp the voice of the MAJORITY and call off this strike), will go down and get jobs, and get your bellies full of the conditions, and when you have cause to regret your action just get into a quiet little spot all by yourself, away from the SCABS, and offer up a silent little prayer THANKING Johnston for the conditions which you ENJOY.

Now, Brothers, I, as Secretary, want to have just a little personal talk with you. I have fought a good fight. I have kept the faith. I have given the best that was in me to uphold the principles of Unionism. I leave this office next Saturday with this one satisfaction—I, my cause—your cause—OUR cause—has been defeated, NOT by the enemy without, but by the enemy within. I have enjoyed the sweet associations which you and I have had, our hearts still beat true, and our only salvation in the future is to RID our organizations from the CANCER that is eating the very heart out of it.

If any of you desire to communicate with me, a letter addressed to 1808 Seventh St., Oakland, will reach me. What the future has in store for me I don't know, but it looks anything but encouraging. But come what may, I shall always remember each one of you as MY FRIEND AND BROTHER. It means something to be aggressive in a fight of the magnitude of the one through which we have passed. That little giant of organized labor, Brother Carl E. Person, can vouch for this. So, Brothers, my parting word to you all is, Good-bye, and may good luck follow you in your HONORABLE undertakings. It is the sentiment of the boys that the sentiments in this bulletin are addressed to UNION MEN, and NOT TO THE GRAND LODGE OFFICERS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAD PLIGHT OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

Yours fraternally,

OAKLAND LOCAL FEDERATION
HARRIMAN LINES (DECEASED).

J. Robertson, Sec.-Treas.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS. LODGE NO. 314.

June 22, 1915.

Office of Secretary,
1803 Franklin Street,
Waterloo, Iowa.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Acting under instructions of Lodge No. 314 of the International Association of Machinists, I am herewith forwarding to you copy of resolutions bearing on the illegal calling off of the Illinois Central and Harriman Line Strikes.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas, Lodge No. 314 are unanimously of the opinion that the Executive Council of the Railroad Employes Department of the A. F. of L. were acting without jurisdictional power at their meeting in St. Louis, Mo., on May 24th, 1915. It is therefore

Resolved, That we severely and unequivocally condemn the action of the said Executive Council in calling off the Illinois Central and Harriman Line strike UNCONDITIONALLY, and be it further

Resolved, That we hereby demand the immediate resignation of President A. O. Wharton, and the Executive Council for their CONTEMPTIBLE AND DESPICABLE ACTION, and especially we demand the immediate resignation of Machinists as presiding officer of that organization for HIS TRAITOROUS CONDUCT in submitting to such a TYRANNICAL ACTION, and be it further

Resolved, That immediate steps be taken to lay the entire matter before President Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., insisting that he (President Gompers) immediately investigate the SCANDALOUS and ARBITRARY ACTION as taken by the Railroad Department, in the UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF THE STRIKERS on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines."

Trusting that this will be sufficient to demonstrate the feelings of the MEN WHO HAVE BEEN BETRAYED AFTER FORTY-FIVE (45) MONTHS OF STRUGGLE AND SACRIFICE, I am,

Very truly yours,

FRANK CONNER,
Recording Secretary, No. 314, I. A. of M.

Portland, Ore., June 29, 1915.

To the Officers and Members of All Crafts Affiliated with
the Railway Employes Department. Greeting:

The action of the Executive Board of the Railway Employes Department of the A. F. of L., held May 24th, 1915, has shown up in the form of Circular Letter No. 64, which has been sent broadcast to the entire membership. The subject matter of this letter is to the effect that the Illinois Central, Harriman Lines, Pere Marquette strike shall be officially declared off June 28th, 1915.

We, the members of Rose City Local, for the benefit of the rank and file, would like to review this action. In the first place, we would like to say that Circular No. 64 is the most infamous document that has ever been issued, inasmuch as it strikes at the fundamental principles of our organization. Ever since the Railroad Department has had anything to do with these strikes, there seems to have occurred a chain of events that are detrimental to the same. Let us go back into the history of the strike a little to the formation of the Railroad Department which was made possible by action that arose out of this strike, and which met at Kansas City, April 15th, 1912.

At this convention, there was a resolution introduced, known as Resolution No. 5. The purpose and understanding of this resolution was that a ballot be spread on all railroads represented in the convention, as follows: "Shall we demand a settlement of the strikes now in progress and shall we ask for a parallel agreement?" This was carried unanimously, and were the instructions of the convention to the officers, and instead of sending out the ballot as instructed, they sent out a sympathetic strike vote, and one International President believed that it was going out wrong and of course put up this way, the vote failed to carry.

In the meantime, the strike was being given publicity by

the Clinton Strike Bulletin, THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL SYSTEM FEDERATION. And how well this was done is shown by the attack on the life of its editor by the Illinois Central Railroad. The latter was beaten by thugs and finally, as you all know, they attempted to railroad him to the gallows, and all this was done that THE CLARION VOICE OF THE BULLETIN MIGHT BE STILLED and the justice of our fight be defeated. This Bulletin was an open forum, playing no favors. Therefore, through its columns some of the Grand Lodge officers were criticized for some of their actions and the same columns were open for rebuttal. We have always believed in free speech and have fought for this right and it is far safer to let all, right or wrong, express themselves than suppress speech, for the latter has been the means of some of the greatest upheavals in society, but some people at this day and age do not believe in FREE SPEECH

At the next convention of the Railway Department, the strike was again voted into the hands of the Department with the instructions that the officers fight this thing to a finish. THIS WAS UNANIMOUS. Instead of doing this, the next thing we hear, is of a ballot being put out to call the strike off, and so closely was the time gauged that we did not have time to put our side of the question before the members, and if it had not been for the heroic efforts of the Clinton Bulletin, they would have succeeded in their object, as it was, the vote went to continue the strike.

For its loyalty to the Cause of the strike and its Free Speech policy, the latter being the strongest fundamental principle of Organized Labor, the Bulletin was slated for elimination and the Railway Department made a move that duplicated the intent of the Illinois Central Railroad Company and what the railroad company, with all its wealth, had failed to do the Department did. THEY KILLED

THE PUBLICITY OF THE STRIKE BY TAKING AWAY ITS VOICE, the Clinton Bulletin. And they did this by putting out a letter, in which they likened the Editor of the Bulletin to a Forger, because he used Frank Comerford's name at the bottom of letters asking for subscriptions to the Bulletin. Frank Comerford had given general permission to use his name for any purpose that would aid the strike and had never objected to his name being used, and at this time was sick and had also stated that his name was used to keep the voice of the strike alive, which he believed was a necessary work.

In this letter emanating from the Department there was skillfully applied inference that Person did this for his own financial gain, when it is a fact that Person put two or three thousand dollars that he had saved up into the strike and has left himself penniless.

The Department officers had been thwarted in their designs of overriding the wishes of the Kansas City convention and getting the strike called off, ignoring altogether the altruism of the Editor in his work for the cause. The Bulletin must be silenced and you, Mr. Subscriber, at the behest of a few officers, left our only means of publicity a wreck and the persecution of the Illinois Central Railroad is vindicated. Don't say, Brother, that you did not know that we depended on the Bulletin to keep our strike before the public, and how necessary it was to keep it alive to fight this strike. We have appealed to you time and again. The Machinists sent out a circular letter and map showing you the conditions of the railroads of the country. We have written the Grand Lodge, and San Francisco has protested against this very act of calling off the strike unconditionally. We have had endorsements from lodges that represent thousands of Machinists, but they have been ignored and in all our appeals the rank and file have accepted the situation, though the precedent that is being established strikes at your own survival.

If there is not a demand from all around the country for the withdrawal of the circular letter, then indeed have you all placed the yoke upon yourself and placed yourself in the hands of a few officers, who, to work their own will, disregard one of the greatest factors in our organization, the referendum, and this is what the Machinists' Grand Lodge officers have done. Here are the chain of events: First, putting out the general proposition as a sympathetic strike; then putting out a ballot contrary to instructions; then the move to kill the Strike Bulletin, and last, but not least, the Circular Letter No. 64, right on the eve of the Industrial Relations Investigation of the strike and when thousands were traveling to the San Francisco Exposition and when we should have been advertising more than ever, we were being undermined. And we have the ludicrous spectacle of the Grand Lodge officers going before the Commission to uphold the justice of the strike, while on the other hand, they were doing all they could to promote its failure. Oh, the bitterness of the thought that we have been defeated by our own people!

The Official Circular No. 64, states that the vote to call the strike off was unanimous. Yet the Blacksmiths' President sent out a circular letter rendering Circular Letter No. 64 null and void, and also states that he and the President of the Boilermakers voted in the negative, so how can it be unanimous. These latter crafts have been given ballots and it is absolutely impossible for them all to become counted before the Circular Letter No. 64 becomes operative, according to the Grand Lodge officers' decree. Now, is it a question of, "Mr. Jones, you are elected before we count the votes to see whether you are or not"? This is certainly efficiency, and so high-handed was the action that the Machinists of No. 433 repudiated the letter and as far as we are concerned the strike is still on.

President Kline hopes that the real cause of our defeat will come to the surface. Is there something underneath

all the effort to call this strike off? There are some of the Brothers that are beginning to have strange suspicions that other motives than those put out on the surface are the real reason for all this effort and the methods that have been pursued certainly do not warrant us being non-suspicious. The inconsistencies are apparent to all who wish to investigate.

We ask you, Brothers, are you going to take the decree as final? Brothers, we have fought a strike the greatest in the history of our country, people have laid down their lives and sacrificed their homes and the great ideal that made them do this was the cause of the emancipation of the workers. Is it in vain that our Brothers have laid down their lives? Will you let us be driven helpless into the hands of the railroad companies? The same companies that have no other thought than dollars? Who could see a mother with a NEW-BORN BABE at her side crying for water down in the desert country, and when a delegation of strikers asked the superintendent to allow her to have water, he said "No," and threatened to fire any man that allowed her to have it.

This heartless corporation is what you want to drive us back to, without protection, where nothing stands between us and the vindictiveness of tools of the railroad companies. Can you, for the hope of a few men going to work, or for the desire of mere per capital do this thing? Have you not seen the fallacy of this policy? Do you not know that by so doing you are showing your weakness? The railroads are already set to give Labor one of the biggest fights in its history, and then your turn will come. YOU will then remember those who died down in the desert for the right to live in freedom.

(Signed.)

C. R. MERRILL,
Secretary Strikers' Federation.

RAILROAD LODGES NO. 610, I. A. M. of M.

Oakland, Cal., July 8, 1915.

Dear Sir and Brother:

On June 28th, 1915, the strikes on the Illinois Central, Harriman Lines, and Pere Marquette Railroads were called off by President Johnston and the General Executive Board, acting with the Executive Council of the Railroad Employees Department.

We deplore this action as **DISASTROUS** to our best interest as **UNION** men. One striker was told by the General Superintendent of Motive Power that **NO STRIKERS OR UNION MEN** would be employed in the future. The company had articles printed in the local newspapers stating "**CONDITIONS WILL REMAIN UNCHANGED**," evidently meaning that the **SCABS** are safe.

Circular No. 65 issued by the Grand Lodge over President Johnston's signature says, among other things: "Practically every representative of a Railroad District, and all of the Railroad Lodges that have written us have been urging the termination of these strikes."

We would like to know if **YOUR** Lodge has been one of those referred to in President Johnston's circular, and if you have written to him asking him to declare this strike off. We would like to know if **YOU** were in favor of the strike being declared off. And has your District Representative written to President Johnston urging him to call the strike off? Did you authorize your District Representative to do this? If you did not, what authority did he have for doing it?

Do you know that the company is assuring the **SCABS** that their jobs are secure, and that strikers are told that the company is full-handed? That those roads are now **NON-UNION** roads? That we have **LOST** instead of gaining by this action?

THE LIZARD'S TRAIL

Please answer this, and let us know your sentiments in this matter. With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

GEORGE ADAMS, Recording Secretary.

Endorsed by Executive Board No. 68-284-610, I. A. of M.

Let us throw a little more light on this subject in which I want to introduce a letter from Washington, which is a reply from Lodge No. 473, Danville, Ill., in regards to the circular sent out calling off the strike benefits in December, 1914. Let us observe Mr. Conlon carefully:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31, 1914.

MR. R. H. FRYMAN,
Lodge No. 473.

Dear Sir and Brother: Your esteemed favor of recent date, protesting against the issuance of official circular No. 48, in connection with the strikes on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines and Pere Marquette Railroads, received and contents noted.

In reply beg to say that I am at a loss to know what part of the circular you protest against. The circular above referred to was sent to all of the members as a notification that on and after December the first strike benefits would be discontinued on these lines by the various organizations.

In fact the Machinist organization was the only one paying regular benefits to strikers. The other organizations had notified their members prior to the strike that no stated benefits would be paid, but they would do what they could to assist the strikers. Some of the organizations have from time to time donated money, but at no time have they agreed to pay regular benefits.

It has cost our Grand Lodge more than \$1,000,000 besides what our local lodges contributed and sent directly into the various federations and districts, and we have felt for a long time that it was a waste of money to continue paying benefits, inasmuch as there was no hope of bringing about a satisfactory settlement of these strikes. Then, again, we felt that it was a very great injustice to the balance of the membership, many of whom have requested permission from time to time to demand to go on strike for an increase in wages, but have been prohibited because the Grand Lodge could not assume any additional obligations.

We took the only action we could take and that was to notify all concerned no further benefits would be paid. We left it entirely to the membership who are directly involved whether or not the strike should be continued. Would you have us declare off benefits without giving the men an opportunity of deciding whether or not they should continue the strike? Don't you think we did a wise thing in giving the men an opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the subject?

I am satisfied that after giving the matter consideration, you will agree with me that we did the only thing that could be done. We wanted to know what the sentiments of the men were; in fact, we have been receiving letters for the last two years urging us to vote on the question and we would have been very derelict in our duty if we failed to give them a chance.

To have failed to do the things for which we are now being censored would have given these very people, who are so ready to condemn the Grand Lodge officers, the opportunity they are looking for to accuse the Grand Lodge of forcing them back to work against their will.

The strikes have lasted three years and there is no possible chance for success. No sane man who has given the matter any consideration and who knows the facts connected with these strikes, can advance any argument why we can expect these companies to make any terms with the strikers. That day has passed. If we cannot win the strikes after 38 months, it should be evident to all right-thinking men that the strikes will not be won.

The men in the shops are becoming very proficient, a large number of apprentices have been instructed, and the position of the company is stronger than ever before. Whereas, the positions of the men have constantly grown weaker, and no effective picket duty is being done at any single point.

I say again to continue to spend more funds to pay benefits would be a waste of money and an imposition on the membership working under much poorer conditions than obtain on the struck roads.

For three years we have cautioned our members and sometimes have had to take a positive position against them making an aggressive move that might involve us in trouble, owing to the tremendous financial burdens we were confronted with, and owing to the strikes we were involved in. But we cannot forever keep putting these men off and compel them to work under conditions that are objectionable to them.

The vote to continue the strike will mean that it will be several years before we can organize these systems. If, on the other hand, the vote had been to discontinue the strike, I am satisfied that these companies will not want any strikes for many years to come.

We must remember if our membership is composed of men employed on other roads and in other shops and factories, besides the three roads mentioned in circular No. 48, that these men have some rights, that those rights must be protected, and this we have been endeavoring to do.

With best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

P. J. CONLON,
Int. Vice Pres. I. A. of M.

Mr. Conlon was expressing President Johnston's views at the time, for if you will read Mr. Johnston's report in the March issue of the *Machinists' Journal* for 1915 you will find the same soft song of the siren. Mr. Conlon states in his letter: "DON'T YOU THINK WE DID A WISE THING IN

GIVING THE MEN AN OPPORTUNITY IN EXPRESSING THEIR SENTIMENT ON THE SUBJECT?"

If this was wise and proper in November, 1914, why shouldn't it be wise and proper in May, 1915?

But Mr. Conlon further states: "WOULD YOU HAVE US DECLARE OFF THE BENEFITS WITHOUT GIVING THE MEN AN OPPORTUNITY OF DECIDING WHETHER OR NOT THEY SHOULD CONTINUE THE STRIKE?" Isn't it a fact that the men decided to continue the strike without benefits? And if decisions should be left to the men involved in 1914, why should such decisions be taken away from them in 1915? And please remember at this time the strike is not costing the association a penny. When the strike was a drain on their treasuries they were willing to leave the decision to the men and when the strike was not costing them anything the Grand Lodge took it upon themselves to decide.

Can you not understand now that the strike vote in November, 1914, was taken for one purpose, and one purpose only, and that was the purpose of calling the strike off at that time? At that time they tried to play upon the money end of it as the real cause; that the strike was too much of a burden on their treasury. This was as false as it was misleading. They only had a few men on the line to whom they were paying benefits, and the best evidence available to prove that such was false is the fact that they called the strike off in spite of the fact that it cost them nothing.

Conlon in his letter states:

We have felt for a long time that it was a waste of money to continue paying benefits, inasmuch as there was no hope of bringing about a satisfactory settlement of these strikes.

From Conlon we find that the Association considered the paying of strike benefits a waste of money unless direct returns on the money are obtained. Had the pioneers of the labor movement subscribed to Conlon's policy of direct returns for

the money and time invested we would not have a labor movement today.

Is it not possible that Conlon as Vice President for the Association of Machinists made some particular trip that cost the Association as Conlon's salary and expenses four or five hundred dollars, and the initiation fees and dues from those Conlon induced to join the union amounted to fifty or a hundred dollars? Then, in the words of Conlon, this would be a waste of money because the Association did not get immediate returns on the money invested. Mr. Conlon, of course, would not recognize the value of the services rendered on the trip that would bring the Association thousands of dollars in the distant future, any more than he would recognize the value of the money placed with the men on strike that would also bring the Association the things valued far in excess of thousands of dollars in the distant future.

What would you say if one of the prospective brothers who Conlon called on to explain the benefits of membership in the Machinists' union would carry on a conversation something like this:

Conlon: "Good morning, brother; I represent the International Association of Machinists. I am here organizing a lodge and earnestly solicit your application for membership in the Association."

Prospect: "Yes, I was thinking about joining the union, and heard it was a good investment for the money, until I met Hiram Green, who said that paying union dues was a waste of money."

Conlon: "Oh, you're wrong, brother; the money paid to the union is the best investment you can make."

Prospect: "When you mention good investment I am certainly interested. What are your initiation and dues?"

Conlon: "Five dollars for initiation and one dollar a month for dues."

Prospect: "What interest will you pay on this investment?"

Conlon: "You will get union conditions in the shop and frequent increases in wages."

Prospect: "Let's see; initiation five dollars and dues one dollar. That will necessitate an investment of six dollars."

Conlon: "Yes, for six dollars you will be a union man in good standing."

Prospect: "Now you will guarantee to have my month's salary raised six dollars; that will give me direct returns for my money. And as the banks get ten per cent on short loans I should have an additional sixty cents to consider your proposition a good investment."

Conlon: "Oh, you're unreasonable, brother. You must not expect to get the principal of your investment with interest back in one month. You should look into the future and realize that if you get a two per cent increase in wages you will have the principal of your investment with a large interest back in a year."

Prospect: "The future! Who cares for that? I am not making investments for the benefit of anyone in the future. I may not be here a year from now. I am not concerned about the interest of anyone but myself. I see now where Hiram Green was right; your proposition is 'a waste of money.' I am too wise to be caught on any such blue sky proposition."

Of course, Conlon or no other labor organizer ever met a prospect as unreasonable and inconsistent as the prospect in the foregoing conversation. There is only one of this type that we have met, and that is Mr. Conlon himself. With him the money and effort put in the strike were a waste of money. Had the members of organized labor been as narrow on this subject as Mr. Conlon, then there would not be any labor organizations today. Union men have willingly paid their dues and furnished the money necessary that keeps the unions together without the slightest expectation of getting their money back or interest on same. They were satisfied with taking a chance as far as their investments were concerned, knowing fully that if the returns on the time and money they

put in the movement did not benefit them it would be beneficial to others in the future.

So, too, the membership participating in strikes make sacrifices for the future interest of the movement. The men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines did this. After sacrificing 45 months of their time for the future interest of the labor movement they were informed by Conlon that this was a waste of time and the money the Machinists' Union had put in the strike "was wasted money."

There are two types of traitors to the labor movement. One is the Hiram Green type, who is frequently seen giving the bettered conditions which are fought and paid for by his fellows a welcome reception. But to appropriate a dollar for the ammunition that brought them down, that he considers a waste of money. The other type is the Pete Conlon type, who considers the money invested in strikes a waste of money. He refuses to recognize the fact that it was the strikes in the annals of the labor movement that are instrumental in bringing about the very best conditions of today and the tomorrows.

Let us hear from Conlon again. In paragraph four of his letter he also states:

Then, again, we felt that it was a very great injustice to the balance of the membership. Many of whom have requested permission from time to time to demand to go on strike for an increase in wages, but have been prohibited because the Grand Lodge could not assume any additional obligation.

Mr. Conlon makes a weak effort here to convey that because of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes, the Machinists' International did not have other strikes. The association could not assume any additional obligations. This statement by Conlon is a gross misrepresentation of facts, for during the period of the Illinois Central and Harriman strikes there were many other strikes called and disposed of. The *Machinists' Journal*, page 1197, issued for the month of December, 1914, in a list of strikes then in progress and strikes that were called since the inception of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike, gives the following information:

Battle Creek Mich., Duplex Printing Press Co.
 Birmingham, Ala., National Cast Iron Co.
 Buffalo, N. Y., Witteman Mfg. Co., Alber Gas Engine Co.
 Chicago, Goodman Mfg. Co., Otis Elevator Co.
 Cincinnati, Toledo Electric Welding Co.
 Copperhill, Tenn., Tennessee Copper Co.
 Davenport, Ia., The Linograph Co.
 Erie, Pa., Ball Engine Co., Reed Mfg. Co., Burke Electric Co.
 Grand Rapids, Mich., Baldwin, Tuthill & Bolton.
 Granite City, Ill., American Steel Foundries.
 Houston, Texas, Grant Locomotive Works.
 Indianapolis, Ind., E. C. Atkins Saw Co., Dimond Chain Co.
 Louisville, Ky., Atlas Machine Co.
 Memphis, Tenn., Memphis Machine Co.
 New York City, C. V. G. Auto Repair Shop.
 Oswego, N. Y., Oswego Machine Works.
 Petersburg, Va., Contract Shops.
 Plainfield, N. J., Saurer Plant of International Motor Co.
 Rochester, N. Y., North East Electric Co.
 Sault Ste. Marie, Ont., Can., Algona Steel Corporation.
 Savannah, Ga., Kehoes Iron Works.
 Tennile, Ga., Wrightville & Tennile Ry.
 Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Bridge & Crane Co.
 Pere Marquette R. R.
 Missouri, Oklahoma & Gulf R. R.

Mr. Conlon knew, when writing his letter, that the above mentioned strikes were called after the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines were called, and that they were in progress in December, 1914, the very date of Conlon's letter. And that the million dollars that he and Johnston wishes to charge to the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike was partly appropriated in some or all of the above mentioned strikes.

The fact remains that the Association had as many strikes during the period of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike as they ever had before. Nobody's interest was jeopardized because of the Association's obligation to the railroad strikes as Conlon would wish us to believe. The men or local lodges whose demands to strikes were turned down by the Association because of the Association's large obligation to the railroad men were simply double-crossed by such people as Conlon and Johnston. If they were soft enough to permit Conlon and Johnston to put it over on them without further

investigation, then they received their just dues. Better to have it rubbed into them before going on strike than after.

Mr. Johnston, on page 253 of the *Machinists' Journal* for March, 1915, as well as Mr. Conlon, in this letter, states that the strike has cost them \$1,000,000.00. All the burdens and mismanagement of the Association was hung on the backs of the men who went on strike upon the instructions of the Association; therefore, let us see for ourselves what the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines cost them. Possibly the Association made money on the strike?

Let me give you the figures from Secretary Geo. Preston's own financial statement, after they have been verified by the auditing committee. The following is the amount paid out in strike benefits from June 1, 1911, to June 1, 1915, and the receipts on Circular No. 10 for the same period. You will remember that the striker's money was confiscated, and they claim authority from Circular No. 10:

	Strike benefits paid out by the International Association of Machinists	Amount re- ceived on Cir- cular No. 10
For the six months ending Nov. 30, 1911..	\$ 301,033.76	.....
For the six months ending May 31, 1912..	219,525.74	\$ 17,149.85
For the six months ending Nov. 30, 1912..	103,791.00	45,406.21
For the six months ending May 31, 1913..	141,614.50	38,001.40
For the six months ending Nov. 30, 1913..	121,603.00	15,609.35
For the six months ending May 31, 1914..	74,395.00	4,585.05
For the six months ending Nov. 30, 1914..	99,549.00	973.90
For the six months ending May 31, 1915..	30,106.75	17.80
Total strike benefits paid for the four years during the I. C. and Harri- man Lines strike.....		\$1,091,618.65
Total receipts on Circular No. 10.....		\$121,743.56

It must now be understood that \$1,091,618.65 that the Association paid out as strike benefits is strike benefits paid out to all strikes during this period, of which there were many others besides the I. C. and Harriman Lines.

The receipts on Circular No. 10 is the amount that was confiscated by the Grand Lodge, and which was the property

of the men on strike, as we have proven in the records. Therefore, we will deduct the receipts of Circular No. 10 from the amount paid out by the Association as strike benefits:

Total paid out for strike benefits.....	\$1,091,618.65
Total confiscated from the strikers.....	121,743.56
Total	<u>\$ 969,875.09</u>

Now we find that *all* strikes for the four years in which the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes were in existence cost the Association \$969,875.09.

The next is to determine what portion of the \$969,875.09 can be charged up to the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike, and we can best do this by finding out what the Association paid as miscellaneous strike benefits before the inception of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes were called.

Here is the amount the Association paid out as strike benefits for the two years previous to June 1, 1911:

For the six months ending Nov. 30, 1909.....	\$ 57,785.00
For the six months ending May 31, 1910.....	84,444.29
For the six months ending Nov. 30, 1910.....	247,445.00
For the six months ending May 31, 1911.....	121,987.00
Total	<u>\$521,661.29</u>

Now we have the amount paid out for the two years previous to the Illinois Central strike, but as the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike ran for nearly four years, we will have to double this to determine what the Association paid out as the average strike benefits for the four previous years to the Illinois Central and Harriman strikes:

Strike benefits paid for two years previous to I. C. and Harriman & Lines strikes.....	\$ 521,661.29
Total average for four years.....	<u>\$1,043,322.58</u>

Now we find that the average strike benefits paid by the Association for the four years prior to the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes were called is \$1,043,322.58. This is

the amount that made up the general run of expenses for the different strikes that took place during this period. Therefore, let us deduct this amount from what the Association paid out for the four years during the Illinois Central strikes. Because the Association had the various strikes throughout the country after the Illinois Central strike, just as they had them prior to the Illinois Central strike.

Total amount paid in strike benefits for all strikes during the four years which the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes were inclusive.....	\$1,091,618.65
Deducting the amount which was the general and average run of strike benefits prior to the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes.....	1,043,322.58

Cost of the Illinois Central strikes to the International Association of Machinists.....	\$ 48,296.07
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But we still have the receipts from Circular No. 10, which the Grand Lodge confiscated, and which is the property of the men on strike, and as this money did not and does not belong to the Association, we will deduct this amount from what it cost the Association for the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes:

Total amount confiscated by the Association from the men on strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines from circular No. 10.....	\$121,743.56
Cost of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes to the Association, after deducting the average cost of strikes for the four years previous to the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes.....	48,296.07

Grand Lodge profit.....	\$ 73,177.79
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Now we have shown you where the Association of Machinists actually made \$73,177.79 by crying for funds for the war babies on strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines.

In addition to this, there is on the Association's financial reports receipts as assessments from Dec. 1, 1912, to June 1, 1915, receipts amounting to \$16,075.30, during a time when there has been no Grand Lodge assessments levied, and therefore these assessments must be voluntary donations for strikes. If such is the case, this \$16,075.30 was also the property of

the men on strike, and was confiscated by the Grand Lodge when switched into their treasury.

Let us further look into Vice President P. J. Conlon's letter or President Johnston's report in the March issue of the *Machinists' Journal* for 1915. Mr. Conlon's letter was written in December after the Association declared off the strike benefits and his cry was that the Illinois Central strike was a drain on their treasury, and therefore the strike benefits were declared off. Yet you will understand how misleading this was after I have showed you that they actually made a profit on the strike of \$73,177.79.

Again, something which is the joker in Mr. Conlon's letter. He states that if the vote had carried to discontinue the strikes, they would have organized the systems and had good working agreements in a year or so. Of course, Mr. Conlon in December, 1914, did not think that his association would trample on the decision of the men involved. But now that they did, why did they not make their promise good and get their good agreements on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines? Three years have elapsed since they declared the strike off, and there is nothing like an agreement on these roads yet. Does he think for a minute that the companies spent (\$7,000,000) seven million per month in that strike, and after they licked the men with the assistance of the Grand Lodge officers, that they are going to let anyone come in and lay the foundation for something that will cost them \$7,000,000 per month again? Not much. Give Mr. Markham and Mr. Kruttschnitt credit for having more sense than that. That stuff goes all right with some of the monkeys, but not with anyone that will look the situation squarely in the face, or someone who has tested the system and is honest enough to look at it in its naked form.

Mr. Conlon in his letter makes mention of "the other organizations" associated in the strike. Whenever the Machinists were called on to explain some of their shortcomings during the strike they instantly took for cover behind the weakness

of the other organizations. Conlon did this. Mr. Johnston always did the same. They cried because the other organizations were cheating and exposed the shortcomings of the other organizations in the case to justify their own shortcomings.

Mr. Johnston in his letter of Sept. 15, 1913, to W. A. Moore of Waterloo, Iowa, then Secretary of the Machinist District No. 21, said:

Some of the members of the other organizations are going about the country informing that the machinist organization is bankrupt, while they have lots of money. It would be very easy for us to boast of having lots of money if we never paid any out, the same as these organizations.

I have a desire to see Johnston's statement concerning the other organizations stand up. Johnston as much as states that the other organizations never paid any money out. I am unable to defend Johnston in this statement, for I know all of the organizations associated in the strike paid out some money. It is true that some of them only put a few dollars in the strike, but let us give them credit for what they did do.

"The other organizations had lots of money," said Mr. Johnston. Here he conveys the idea that the other organizations were getting rich on account of the strike. Mr. Johnston's statement means nothing unless it is substantiated by facts. This he did not do, but as I have a desire to see Mr. Johnston's statement stand up I am going to build up a defence for him and produce the necessary facts.

Here are the financial statements as published in the *Boilermakers' Journal* for a period of eighteen months during the very heart of the strike. Page 314, April number of the *Boilermakers' Journal* for 1914, says:

The following is a summary of the transaction in the various fund accounts for the year ending Dec. 31, 1913:

	Total	General	Journal	Strike Benefit	Death Benefit	Trans- portation	Fidelity
Balance Jan., 1913...	\$ 13,685.69	\$ 4,104.68	\$ 957.71	\$ 6,840.80	\$ 1,504.87	\$ 273.63	\$ 4.00
Cash receipts	179,144.31	53,554.31	12,495.97	89,257.17	19,636.59	3,570.27	630.00
Exch. receipts	3,199.25	224.00	.....	2,975.00	.....	.....	.....
Transferred .....	.....	3,700.00	(700.00)	.....	.....	(3,000.00)	.....
Total	\$196,029.25	\$61,582.99	\$12,753.68	\$99,073.22	\$21,141.46	\$ 848.90	\$634.00
Cash disbursements ..	141,648.82	61,591.59	11,321.81	62,735.42	6,000.00	.....	.....
Exch. disbursements...	3,199.25	224.00	.....	2,975.25	.....	.....	.....
Total disbursements...	\$144,848.07	\$61,815.59	\$11,321.81	\$65,710.67	\$ 6,000.00	.....	.....
Bal. Dec. 31, 1913..	51,181.18	232.60	1,431.87	33,362.85	15,141.46	848.90	634.00

Page 719 of the *Boilermakers' Journal* for September, 1914, further states:

The following is a summary of the transaction of the various fund accounts for the period from Jan. 1, 1914, to July 16, 1914:

Jan. 1, 1914.....	\$ 51,181.18	\$ (232.60)	\$ 1,431.87	\$33,362.55	\$15,141.46	\$ 843.90	\$634.00
Cash receipts	95,055.18	28,935.61	6,633.63	46,377.65	10,221.69	2,051.92	834.68
Transferred		3,456.68			(5,000.00)	3,000.00	(1456.68)
Total	<u>\$146,236.36</u>	<u>\$32,159.69</u>	<u>\$ 8,065.50</u>	<u>\$79,740.20</u>	<u>\$20,363.15</u>	<u>\$5,895.82</u>	<u>12.00</u>
Cash disbursements...	87,681.26	29,843.26	6,854.32	43,309.44	2,950.00	4,724.24	.....
Bal. July 16, 1914..	\$ 58,555.10	\$ 2,316.43	\$ 1,211.18	\$36,430.76	\$17,413.15	\$ 1,171.58	\$ 12.00

Now, I have taken Johnston's statement concerning the other organizations and given it a little respectability. These statements represent the intermediate period of the strike; let us, therefore, determine just how prosperous the Boilermakers' Union is growing under the heavy burden of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike.

On Jan. 1, 1913, the Boilermakers had in their strike fund \$6,840.80, and at the end of the same year they had been able to raise the strike fund to \$33,362.55. This is not so bad for one year's business in which they tried to make it appear that the strike was bankrupting their organization. Let us now keep uppermost in our minds that the membership of the Boilermakers' Union stood in poverty on the strike zone, while the International Union banked the difference between \$6,840.80 and \$33,362.55 as one year's profit while soliciting for the war babies.

Let us further note that the strike fund was the Boilermakers' most prosperous fund. No other fund in the financial statement shows the profit that the strike fund shows. In fact, it was due to the strike fund that the union was able to increase their bank account during the year of 1913 from \$13,685.69 to \$51,181.18.

For the eighteen months represented by the Boilermakers' financial statement we find that the strike fund grew from \$6,840.80 to \$36,430.76 and due to this healthy growth of

the strike fund the International Union during a period of 18 months increased their bank account from \$13,685.60 to \$58,555.10. This is doing pretty fair at the expense of the war babies. This is what President Johnston of the Machinists means when he stated that the other organizations are getting rich on the strike. Johnston made this assertion and I have placed it in concrete form so that President Franklyn and his emissaries cannot tear it down even though they may equip themselves with the most modern pneumatic devices in their efforts to do so.

It is alleged that President Franklyn of the Boilermakers stated at the meetings of the Railway Department and elsewhere that every time he signed checks for strike benefits he felt that it was that much money thrown in the sewer. His financial statements will at least indicate that he was very much inclined that way.

I have already proven that the Machinists' International Union under the direction of President Johnston made a profit of \$73,177.79 on the strike. Now, I have shown you that the strike was also a profitable one to the Boilermakers' Union under the direction of President Franklyn. The same is true as far as the Carmen and some other organizations are concerned. To build up their financial treasuries at the misfortune of the membership on strike was the ambition of the politicians rather than to win the strikes and compensate those who were putting up the fight.

Now let us give you some authority direct by the International officers as to the cost of the strike.

CHICAGO, ILL., March 11, 1912.

The strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines has lasted five months. After three months' battle President Markham of the Illinois Central made the statement to Gov. Brewer of Mississippi (who stated to the undersigned and others) that it had cost the Illinois Central \$7,000,000.00 already, but that they had been reimbursed from other sources \$15,000,000.00, proving the charge that the railroads were federated, a privilege they denied their employees. Undoubtedly it cost the Harriman Lines more than double the amount, and that being the case, this strike is costing the railroad companies \$7,000,000.00

per month. If they are willing to spend this amount to fight the federated shop crafts, it means a continuation of the fight on the separate unions if we lose this strike.

(Signed)

J. W. KLINE.
J. A. FRANKLIN.
W. H. JOHNSTON.

M. F. RYAN.
M. O'SULLIVAN.
J. J. CARRIGAN.

G. F. HEADRICK.
J. T. KINSELLA.
JOHN FITZPATRICK.

How is that? Did they in May, 1915, declare the strikes off so that the separate unions could be whipped on the other roads? Well, you have their own word for it. They either told you a gross lie in 1912 for the purpose of swindling you, or they prostituted the labor movement in 1915 by calling the strike off.

Let us see what Mr. Johnston says in the *Machinists' Journal* for 1912 (page 293, March issue), as follows:

"ALL PREVIOUS RAILROAD STRIKES WERE OF THE ONE-TRADE-AT-THE-TIME CHARACTER. THE FUTURE WELFARE OF ALL RAILROAD SHOP MECHANICS ON ALL OTHER SYSTEMS WILL LARGELY DEPEND ON THE OUTCOME OF THIS STRUGGLE."

If Mr. Johnston's statement was true in 1912, what, then, shall happen to all other railroad mechanics on all other roads?

To satisfy the inquiring mind, who may ask the question: What excuse did the Grand Lodge officers put up in declaring the strike off and surrender a principle that was sacred to labor? I wish to quote a portion of a letter that was sent out by Secretary John Scott of the Railway Department, dated in St. Louis, July 24, 1915. In this letter Mr. Scott endeavored to place the responsibility for declaring the strike off on the shoulders of the strikers by stating, "That it was the expressed sentiments from many of the members." It was the expressed sentiments of many of the members in the council of the Railway Department, but Mr. Scott tried to convey that it was the expressed sentiments of the men who were putting up the fight on the lines on strike. This, however, was

both false and misleading, for the strikers expressed themselves in November, 1914, in a manner which did not indicate that they wanted to surrender anything in behalf of the strike-breakers and the companies. But like all their previous decisions, they are not men enough to stand by their own convictions, and therefore they made an effort to throw it upon the shoulders of those whom they have victimized.

In addition, Mr. Scott, in his letter of July 24, says in part: "The council members also had in mind the possibility of again organizing these lines, as evinced by the testimony of President Markham of the Illinois Central before the Industrial Relations Commission, in which he said in part: 'We have never closed the doors to the men who went out on strike, but have left the doors open, unless they have been engaged in actual acts of violence and destructions of company property. The fact that a man went out on strike does not disqualify him for future employment by the company, and that situation exists today. We have always been glad to have them, and the applications of our old employees will be given the preference.'"

The Grand Lodge officers, through Mr. Scott, now made an endeavor to build up a fence to lean on, realizing that they had just pulled off the shadiest job that was ever pulled off anywhere in the annals of the labor movement. So they come forth with what Mr. Markham said before the Commission. Mr. Markham and his company were on trial before the Commission, and of course Mr. Markham was talking in his own defense. He was building up a case for his company, and knew how to do it. He did not think for one minute that the *pretended labor leaders* would take any stock in his statements, and was not concerned about them. He was talking for the records, just as Mr. Johnston and others had done when they realized that there was a stenographer on the job taking the notes. They are aware of the fact that the boys back home will read their pre-arranged speeches. President Markham knew how to build up his case before the Com-

mission so those that are reading it today in the industrial reports will say, after having read it, "He is a grand old man, and there is no question about that. If he could, by making this statement, quoted by Secretary Scott, win the 'dips' over and declare the strike off, then Mr. Markham is the right man and in the right place, and the only charge against him is that he did not make the same statement some three years before this time, so that the strike could have been declared off a long time ago." For this lack of vigilance on Mr. Markham's part the Board of Directors are justified in putting a few demerit marks against his record. And the Grand Lodge officers as well, for just think of all the time wasted by them when this thing could have been settled a long time ago by a simple declaration by Mr. Markham.

Mr. Markham didn't mean a word of it. The Grand Lodge officers are well aware of that. And now the excuse set forth to the labor movement in Secretary Scott's letter was set up for the same purpose. In setting it up, the Grand Lodge officers knew that it was hot air, but the kind of hot air they expected to justify their own operations with, and what they thought would catch the suckers, so when reading it they would say, "Indeed, the Grand Lodge officers are some grand fellows; they declared the strike off so that they can organize the strike-breakers and declare another fight on C. H. Markham and Julius Kruttschnitt; that is sure a fine idea; never thought that they were as bright as all this." And that night in their dreams they can see Johnston, Franklin, Ryan and the rest of them marching the strike-breakers out on a new strike and go to the Park Row station and serve notice on Mr. Markham that he is discharged, and have to start all over again shoveling coal on the docks and join their new union. And Judge Lovett is called in from Broadway, while Julius Kruttschnitt has got to go back on the U. P. and level up the tracks. While still in their nightmare, they look up their journals and see the pictures of the "dips," and when they come to Wharton, they imagine that Ambassador Page

is out of place in London, for Wharton should be there and Franklin should build the new roads in Alaska, Ryan should be President of the dear old U. S. A., and William Johnston in a circuit preaching peace at any price. And that is just what the Grand Lodge officers want the suckers to believe. They know what kind of dopè to feed them—give them credit for something, for they were sure getting away with it.

THE NEW AUTUMN DRIVE

The Grand Lodge officers, like some wise "me," made their mistakes and spoiled their play after they had played the hardest part of their performance. This they did after they declared the strikes off, for they got away with this without the crowd getting wise, but fell down on the encore when they started out to show the crowd how they were going to put Markham back on the coal docks. This part of the play was even amusing to Mr. Markham himself. Imagine Julius Kruttschnitt sizing up the boobs from his desk down on Broadway, while this part of the performance was going on.

It happened something like this: The Grand Lodge officers got together in a real federated effort. I guess they realized that they had to federate here to accomplish their purpose, so they organized what they called the "Great Autumn Drive." H. J. Molloy, who had been business agent for the Machinists on the Illinois Central, one of the ex-preachers of the "all for one," who had gone over the lines after the strike and said that union men could never become low enough to associate with strike-breakers, was now delegated to make a drive on all the bull-pens on the Illinois Central with a squad of representatives from the other organizations and tell the strike-breakers that the game we played here shortly after 1911 was only a joke, and now that we are in earnest, you strike-breakers can join our church for a dollar and a half. "You see, fellows, we like you so much that we have decided to make you boys special concessions. We are only going to charge you a dol-

lar and a half, but the union men that want to join will have to pay fifteen to twenty-five dollars and up. Now, you understand, that you are getting in easy; we figure that your experience as strike-breakers is a valuable asset; therefore, the dollar and a half price is made to you boys."

Imagine Molloy, if you can, working on his new prospects as earnestly as an agent from the Continental Casualty Company on the new Italian helper, after the timekeeper had informed him that they had put a live one on the payroll this morning.

So Molloy continued on his prospects, even upon those who first went to work for the Central the day after the strike was called.

"You see, here is your opportunity to be a brother for a dollar and a half. The rough-necks that called you a scab in 1911 are all gone now. Brother Johnston starved them off the lines, and for just a dollar and a half you can wear the Iron Cross, and the other union brothers that you have seen up in the barber shop will call you brother. Oh! and here, my dear friend, you will also get the 'pass-word.' That is something that you can be proud of; the secrets that we have in our church are something wonderful. I would give it to you now, but you know we have a constitution, so that I have to get your dollar and a half first."

The Prospect: "Yes, but weren't you one of those mean strikers, too?"

Molloy: "Oh, no! I was a paid officer; you understand, us Grand Lodge officers, whatever we did in that strike, we did because we had to, not because we wanted to. You understand, my dear brother, that we Grand Lodge officers are different from the rest of them. Oh, so much different. You will surely appreciate this after you give me your dollar and a half. Why, us fellows are regular scouts."

Prospect (in excitement): "Sh, sh, don't talk so loud, stranger; there is the boss coming."

Molloy: "That's all right, brother; we've got all this fixed

up. Why, don't you know that our Grand Chief is a regular pal of the President of this road? Yes; and I tell you, that after you get our Iron Cross that no boss will tell you anything. Your job will be secure with this company, so you should give me your dollar and a half now, for that is better protection to you than any insurance policy ever written."

Prospect: "Yes, but will that man Ryan ever advise us to strike, too?"

Molloy: "That is just what I was going to tell you. No, they won't do anything like that unless they think it is advisable. You know, big, influential men like Ryan and Johnston, they give advice on such questions. I wish you could meet Brothers Ryan and Johnston. Oh! I tell you, brothers, they are some grand old boys, and as soon as I get your dollar and a half and send it in to them, you will be acquainted with them. Yes, they will know you by the dollar and a half that you give them, and will send you a regular little book with their names printed on it, and at every meeting you go to you will hear letters of welcome and good cheer. And, by the way, brother, you know they are big men and do a whole lot of traveling, and when they come through on this road I will then notify you, and you can lay off and go down to the station and see the train go by that your Grand Chief is on. I tell you, brother, for that dollar and a half you can get more than anything you ever got before in your life for a dollar and a half."

Prospect (with one hand on the reverse lever of the boring mill): "But, see here, stranger, if Ryan should think it advisable for us to strike, can the scab that takes my job join your church for a dollar and a half, too?"

Molloy: "You see, brother, that is a secret. Sh! Sh! You have to pay a dollar and a half to find this out."

Prospect: "Yes, but a dollar and a half is a whole lot of money for such information, and I tell you, stranger, anybody that takes my job here on this old mill that I run now for four years, after I am advised to go on strike, cannot be a

brother of mine, so I want to know where those fine fellows, Ryan, Johnston, Franklin and those Grand Chiefs are at before I spend a dollar and a half."

Molloy: "My dear brother, they are all over the country; sometimes in Washington, and sometimes in Kansas City, and sometimes they go to Atlantic City to rest up."

Prospect: "Oh, excuse me, stranger; I want to know where they are at on that strike advice of theirs. Do they jump around and change their advice from time to time, just like they do their location?"

Molloy: "Oh, I know what you have done. I bet you have seen a copy of that unauthorized *Strike Bulletin*. Why, don't you know that Ryan, Johnston and Wharton have put that out of business? Just to show you what big men they were, yes, siree, they wrote to the brothers all over the country and told the dear brothers (you know the same brothers that you can be a brother to for a dollar and a half) not to read it because they, the Grand Chiefs, didn't like it. Say, by gosh, brother, you know that after that time the brothers wouldn't read it. Why, you know such grand men as the Grand Chiefs wouldn't have anything to do with those strikers, for they asked too many questions."

Prospect: "Well, see here, stranger, I never read the *Strike Bulletin*; one of the boys had found one of them papers one day, and the boss called us all together, and Tool-room Slim got a sheet-iron and put on the floor and then that paper was burned while we all stood around and the boss made a fine speech on loyalty to the company, and said that the company was going to stand with the boys, and I guess they are right. They have sure stuck with us now for four years, and what I would like to know is, will this man Ryan and Johnston stick with me after I get the Iron Cross like the company has stood with us fellows that those mean strikers called scabs?"

Molloy: "You see, my dear fellow, we have a constitution, as you will find out after I get your dollar and a half, and that

constitution changes when the Grand Chiefs think it is advisable to advise the change. That is, they interpret its meaning today, and, if advisable, advise a different interpretation in the future."

Prospect: "Oh, then if Ryan should advise me to strike, and I went on strike, and in a little while Ryan would deem it advisable to advise me that I was ill advised—"

Molloy: "Here, here, my dear fellow, that is unauthorized and uncalled for—"

Prospect: "Yes, stranger; but you interrupted me. What I want to know is where in the h—l are those fellows at on their advice?"

Molloy: "By gosh! that's a new one on me. I will write to Ryan, Johnston and Franklin and the rest of the chiefs on that matter tonight and will get an interpretation from Chief Justice Wharton; so, good-bye, brother; I hope that you will be one of us some day. Good-bye, good-bye."

This was the part of the autumn drive that was being played. Another squad of them made the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific, as well as all Harriman Lines. Business Agent Webster of the Machinists made a flying trip on the Harriman Lines, playing the same part as our friend Molloy played on the Central, and, of course, assisted by representatives of most all the other crafts. Here is a statement worthy of mention, written by Wm. Hannon, Vice President of the Machinists; he was on the Pacific Lines until Johnston thought he was not helping him in letting the movement "peter out," and so he was removed like "Peck's bad boy," but by some accident he drove back to one of the points that had been on strike three months after the strike had been called off, and in the fourth month, which was October, 1915, he mentions in the *Machinists' Journal* for October, 1915, page 908, in which he says:

While here in Frisco I met General Organizer Webster, who had come from Evanston, Wyo. Brother Webster has been traveling over the Union Pacific, the Oregon Short Line and the Southern Pacific Lines,

handling some business in connection with the strike. At his request, I went with him to the General Officers of the S. P. and attempted to get a conference with General Manager Scott, but we could get none.

Mr. Hannon's article further went on to explain that Mr. Scott's chief clerk informed them that the company was very bitter against the strikers and would not put them back to work. Then Mr. John Scott, Secretary of the Railway Department, in his letter of July 24, 1915, tried to build up a fence for the Grand Lodge officers by stating that the strike was declared off on account of the statement made by Mr. Markham of the Illinois Central before the Commission, that the companies had nothing against the strikers, and that they were a bunch of fine fellows. Then came Hannon, in October, 1915, and tells the truth, which wrecks the arguments made by Secretary Scott, in his letter of July 24, 1915. In this he further states:

"We must assume that Mr. Markham was sincere in what he said, and can only determine to what extent his policy will be put into practice by accepting the terms offered."

And so the strike was declared off on the "terms offered" by Mr. Markham—"that he had nothing against the strikers." Do they expect people who have seen real street cars, and been to county fairs, and funerals, played hookey from Sunday School, or took a bath occasionally down in the river bend, to believe this bunk?

When the autumn drive, which was the great encore of the main part of this drama, was over, these people found out that even the scabs did not have enough confidence in them to join their church. That is the part they fell down on. For this was the great coming promise. They played this up as they did the cause of federation in 1911. This part of it was the second child of their new brotherhood. The first one, born in 1911, was the Federation, and when it was discovered that there was a chance for them to get another kid to play with, they poisoned their first child to give their second one all the milk available. And when they announced on May 24,

1915, the date of June 28, 1915, as the set and expected date for the arrival of the new kid, there was some cherished and parental happiness in the chambers of the Railway Department.

They did the best they could to give the new kid a chance to live, but, after three or four months, Webster, Molloy and their associate nurses came back home exhausted and gave up in despair. And, of course, those grand old men, Mr. Markham and Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt, overlooked the importance of sending their Red Cross trains of assistance to the flying squadron in their autumn drive. They were too busy on Broadway and Park Row telling about the fun they had with regular labor leaders (fellows who write constitutions and interpret them), and how they soft-soaped them with a promise. While even though the great cause of labor was sacrificed here, there is every reason to believe that it cost the railroad companies something else but a "promise." This, of course, Mr. Markham and Mr. Kruttschnitt never mention when they tell the joke to their friends.

PART V

THE SECRET SESSION OF JIM KLINE'S TRIAL DURING THE 1916 CONVENTION OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT AT KANSAS CITY, MO., AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RECORDS.

JIM KLINE'S TRIAL AT KANSAS CITY

LET us look into a part of the proceedings that came to the surface after the strike had been declared off—a condition of affairs that I was fully aware of in that part of 1912, when Jack Buckalew came to Clinton with his district and the war cabinet of District 21, I. A. of M., was organized. I realized then that the strikers were being trimmed by our own Grand Lodge officers. In fact, I realized that there was a well-laid plan to trim the strikers from the very inception of the strike. Having read this story from the beginning, you understand this. Because I realized this condition of affairs existed, I was forced to play my part in such a way at times that even the men on strike did not approve of my methods. Their disapproval was because they were ignorant of the knowledge I had. Had they been able to size up the situation as I had the opportunity to do, and made it my business to do, they would have approved of my methods. They would have favored at times methods more radical than those I instituted. Regrettable as it may seem, some of our people did not surmise that there was anything wrong until the day of the announcement that the strikes were called off. Then the resolutions came thick and fast, but then it was too

late, for the sharpers had pulled off the show, and when the sleepy, easy-going crowd woke up there was no one to resolute over but themselves for going to sleep on the job.

During the strike we had one friend among the Grand Lodge Presidents—that was J. W. Kline, of the Blacksmiths. He always had a word of cheer for the men on the line. We could write him a letter and get an answer. The strikers at Burnside, where the Illinois Central shops in Chicago were located, could always go to Mr. Kline and talk the situation over, and use his offices for anything in the interest of the strike. He was an earnest advocate of the general strike at the Kansas City convention in 1914. He supported the strikers on anything they wanted and were after in the interest of the strike. During the time the *Strike Bulletin* was being persecuted and served with injunction after injunction by the Railway Department, he voted against such action being taken. When strike benefits were declared off in October, 1914, by the Railway Department, Mr. Kline voted against it and served notice on the Department that he would continue to pay his men on the line as long as the strike was on. When the vote was taken in May, 1915, to declare the strike off, he voted against such action being taken, and submitted the decision of the Railway Department to the rank and file of his membership through a referendum.

Naturally, Mr. Kline was considered an outlaw by the rest of the members of the council because of the fact that he wouldn't "go along" with them in their methods of handling the strike. On June 29, 1915, he wrote the following letter to his Business Agents and Vice Presidents:

CHICAGO, ILL., June 29, 1915.

TO THE VICE PRESIDENTS AND BUSINESS AGENTS.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: At the last meeting of the Railway Department by majority vote, the strike was called off on the Illinois Central, Pere Marquette and Harriman Lines. President Franklin of the Boilermakers and myself voted against calling it off for the reason that we insisted on giving the rank and file a chance to vote on it. However, we decided as it was a majority vote in the Department to place the matter up to our General Executive Boards, and if they allowed us to

do so, we would send the letter with our names attached, but they decided otherwise, and we withdrew our names from that Department circular.

I have sent to each of you a copy of the circular letter with ballots. However, the impression seems to prevail, and it has gotten into the papers that the strike is called off, and so it is, as far as the Machinists, Carmen and Sheet Metal Workers are concerned, but the Blacksmiths and Boilermakers are voting, and I cannot inform you until I get the result of the ballot. The Boilermakers are in the same position.

I am writing this letter so that you will be able to talk intelligently to anyone who asks you.

I understand there will be a demand for investigation. No one will welcome it more than the undersigned.

Why the three crafts could not wait for another two or three weeks until we were all ready to act before they sent out their letter, is more than I can understand, unless it's a scheme to influence the vote of the Blacksmiths and Boilermakers.

I have stood all the way through this strike for a referendum when it came to calling off this strike. The Machinists' General Executive Board voted to call it off two, three or four months ago. The Carmen and Sheet Metal Workers practically did the same.

There are already charges of a sell-out. To that, I may say that the money was there all right, if they could find anyone to take it. I had the chance myself at one time, and I know if they would give it to me, they would give it to others. Of course, we have the right to expect that one general officer is just as honest as another in that respect, and I make no charge. But I am saying that if an investigation is brought about, those questions would be asked. I understand by some one in the West that they have some very dangerous information. I would be glad to have it brought out, and let us see where we are at, and if there are any crooks in the movement we had better know it.

I have a letter in my possession, written by a member of the Machinists' Executive Board, stating that President Johnston has been giving permission to machinists to go back to work. I was also told by machinists in my office that a letter came to Chicago a month or two ago asking them why they didn't go back to work instead of asking for more money from their general officers.

There is no doubt about our being trimmed, but I claim that the general officers are responsible for the trimming. I will issue a circular letter with the results of the vote as soon as I get them.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. W. KLINE, President.

Mr. Kline's letter carries several important statements, one in which he states: "*I may say that the money was there all right. I had the chance myself at one time, and I know if they would give it to me they would give it to others.*"

The above letter puts a new light on our story, and it will be well to remember that this statement does not come from

one of the "irresponsible strikers" or someone that has simply formed an opinion from sitting down in the desert some place, watching the show. This is a statement made by an International President, whose organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Metal Trades, and the Railway Department of the A. F. of L. Therefore, Mr. Kline's statement merits some consideration.

There is another portion of Mr. Kline's letter to his Vice Presidents and Business Agents that is more than interesting, and that is the last paragraph of the letter in which Mr. Kline states: "There is no doubt about our being trimmed, but I claim that the general officers are responsible for the trimming."

This was a common assertion by the correspondents of the *Strike Bulletin*, but this comes from Mr. Kline, a member of the council of the Railway Department, a man who knew what was going on, "on the inside." And there is good reason to believe that Mr. Kline knew what he was talking about, for a man in his position cannot afford to talk at random on a subject of such importance. Mr. Kline was the chairman of the general officers at the time the strike was called, and in conference in Frisco with Mr. Kruttschnitt and his legal council. Therefore, there was but little going on among the general officers that he was not familiar with. He remained as chairman until the first Kansas City convention of the Department in 1912, and was in a position to not only judge matters from its different standpoints, but he was in a position to actually know the facts of the situation, and decided in accordance with what he had discovered and what he knew as actual facts when he made the declaration *that the money was there for any one that would take it, and that the strikers had been trimmed by the general officers.*

There was only one thing for the Railway Department to do after Mr. Kline had made his declarations, and that was to prefer charges against him or stand convicted upon his declarations. Mr. W. H. Johnston, President of the

Machinists, was picked to prefer the charges against Mr. Kline through the Railroad Department, which he did in a letter dated at Washington, September 2, 1915. In this letter he challenged Mr. Kline to prove the statements, and further stated that he wouldn't associate with him because he had ruined the reputation and character of his fellow officers. Reputations were considered very valuable now by Mr. Johnston, but little did he concern himself when he made an effort to wreck and ruin the reputation of strikers during the strike by calling them grafters because they occasionally arranged entertainments to help along, while strike benefits were being confiscated.

Mr. Johnston generally talked at random concerning the strikers, and was never in a position to substantiate any of the assertions and criticism that he so profusely showered upon them. Now that his own reputation had been brought in question, he wanted the protection of the constitution and all the legal strings that were wrapped around the Railway Department. In insisting on this, however, Mr. Johnston made another of the many blunders that has stamped themselves upon his office record, for Mr. Kline was well in a position to substantiate all that which he said and declared, with documentary evidence and otherwise, and the further Mr. Johnston proceeded, the deeper he got himself and associates into it, and the more information the strikers were given concerning the secrets of the "inner circle" and its shady methods, the more evidence they had to convince the skeptics and convict the traitors with. So, while Grand Lodge Presidents were throwing mud at each other, insinuating that the "spoils were there for those that wanted to take it," the victims were singing *God speed the investigation*.

John Scott, Secretary of the Railway Department, in his letter of July 24, 1915, said that the strike was declared off on the promise of Mr. Markham that he did not have anything against the strikers. But we have now arrived at a point where it looks as if there must have been some other induce-

ment for declaring the strike off than a mere "promise." Or what does Mr. Kline mean in his statement, "that the money was there." Of course, when the *strikers had John Scott elected* at the convention in 1912, they thought that this would be a fine place for a *striker*; for, being a striker, he would surely "tip the boys off" when there was danger of anyone profiting by their misfortune. But maybe John Scott was not in a position to have the information that Mr. Kline had when he wrote his letter on June 29, 1915, or the company he had been keeping as Secretary of the Department had also led John Scott astray.

It would, indeed, have been a *misfortune* to the men who went through this long strike, and the labor movement in general, had this case been dismissed in Frisco, for the trial eventually came up, and when it did, there were several *skeletons pulled out of the closets*.

After the strike was called off, I bid farewell to my village home and sang my valediction to the little "Rebel Nest," where I had so often spent the hours that intrude upon the dawn and moved to the metropolis for a Clark Street education. One morning, while out taking my exercise in sky-scraper gazing, a gentleman caught me by the shoulder and pulled me in from the danger line of the fast moving crowd, and, as he jerked me in, he said, "You're that kid from Clinton, aren't you?"

"From no place in particular," I said, and thought, "My God! here I'm pinched again."

"Your name is Carl Person, isn't it?" he said, in a voice that sounded like the State Street policeman as he backs the Fords from the dead-line.

"Well, slip 'em on, Dick," I said; "I'll go along; there is no chance to beat the Bertillion system, any way." And then the stranger laughed, and I at once realized that it was Big Jim Kline, of the Blacksmiths, and added, "Why, I thought I was pinched again. And did the strike put you on the street, too, Jim?"

Kline: "I'm still down here, but they're trying to put me in the air."

"Who, the guys that played the lizard's trail?" was my reply.

Kline: "It's worse than that, my boy."

"Oh, I know; but you see the more the mob gets it rubbed into them, the better they seem to like it, and please don't talk about it, Jim. I am trying hard to forget it, and that's why I came down from the clouds to mingle here with the crowd."

"This is no time for me to forget it," said Kline, "for you know they've got me pinched for making a statement to our Business Agents that you boys were trimmed by the Grand Lodge officers, and I'm on my way to Canal Street now to get a train for Kansas City, where my trial comes up next week."

"That's right, Jim; this is no time forget it, and I am satisfied now that what John Scott told me was the truth—that you always defended the boys on strike at the council meetings in the Department—and the virtue of our little *Strike Bulletin*, when the other members of the council were making defamatory and slurring remarks upon her reputation; you knew that she was someone's sister, too, like the real man in the bar-room when the soaks amused themselves trying to wreck the reputation of the girl next door."

Said Kline: "Well, the convention is on next week. Come down, if you can."

"Me, Jim, come down there?"

Kline: "Yes; you know a little about the trimming you boys got during the strike, don't you?"

"Oh, yes, a little; but you know, Jim, all those swells from Washington will be there, and I bet my friend Ryan will be there dressed in that same fine coat that got him the applause from the Machinists' convention in 1911. Besides, I haven't got a white vest, and here I am carrying all the dust from the Harrison Street Station to the river on my jeans, and the emblems of the soup houses since I drove into town have pene-

trated my necktie and made the starboard side of my vest look like the beanery garbage cans on South Halsted Street."

Kline: "Cut the apology, my boy; you'll do. You're not expected to be brushed up; they know that you've done time, and birds are not expected to be polished up. I'd like to see you down there."

"If I can shake up the funds for the trip, Jim, I'll drive in for Wednesday."

"Yes," said Kline. "Good-bye, kid; be down if you can."

Big Jim Kline pulled up his luggage and started down Adams Street for the station. He looked just like an old-fashioned blacksmith changing boarding houses, carrying his library in his pockets, and his personal assets in his hand-vice, and as I gave him the last look when he disappeared in the crowd, I thought of the by-gone days when I, too, had been indicted by the "dips" for being irresponsible enough to question the whys and the wherefores of all this.

Wednesday morning, the 13th, I arrived in Kansas City, Mo. Went to the Labor Temple, where the convention was in session, and took a seat in the courtroom. Here I was politely informed that my presence was considered intrusive, and that membership of credentials were necessary for anyone that wished to sit there and drink from the pleasant fountains of unlimited knowledge that gushed forth from the tributaries of this notable court. Like the Roman amphitheater of old, the mystic sign was a necessary adjunct, notwithstanding the fact that at the previous convention Superior Judge Wharton insisted that the doors be thrown open to everybody who wanted a seat in the galleries.

Not finding it a pleasant occupation sitting around in the annex that led into the high court, I returned to the busy streets of the city.

I stepped into the annex of the court-room in due time Thursday morning and met some of the delegates who were there participating in the convention. Some of them I had never met before, but they expressed themselves as receiving

several letters from me during the time I managed the "Rebel Nest." I had met some of the delegates who were there, and passed a word or two with them, in which the consensus of opinion was that Jim Kline was up against a hard proposition, and they regarded the case as one of much importance. While others gathered together and whispered among themselves, that they had it rumored around that I did time "on the river," and naturally I received that look of unwelcomeness that the average convict does when leaving Sing Sing. Jim Kline came to the door soon after the opening of the court, and informed me to be patient if I could, for I would be called in before very long.

While still waiting and resting myself against an unoccupied radiator, near the Annex window, I fully realized that the honorable court was in session, for the echoes of sweet melodies that sounded like the voice of a roundhouse foreman raving upon his half-mile race track after he had been informed by the dispatcher that the engine that went out on the limited died three miles out of the city limit switch, with the General Manager's special car attached. Yes, there were penetrating evidences coming from the inner chambers that there was something wrong with the steam roller, some place, and as I stood there and drank up the escaping information with much rejoicing, I resolved to make a prayer, a prayer that would enable me to generate all the crudeness and viciousness that a strike itself generates, and at this time, which would probably be my last chance to sing the song of discontent and depreciation to those who so successfully murdered that cause, that thousands of men sacrificed their all for, to make it to those lizards that robbed the honest man of his principles and the dreamers of their ideals.

Here came the bailiff to the door. If Carl Person is in the Annex he shall come forth. And I came and was marched to the altars and directed to be seated.

Mr. Wharton, President of the department, had surrendered the chair by a motion of the Blacksmiths' delegation to

a gentleman by the name of J. P. Noonan, a representative of the Electrical Workers, so that he could assume the part of chief and directing counsel for the prosecution. As I remember it, the proceedings were something like this.

Mr. Kline: If the court please, your honor, I wish to first be tried on indictment number two, which charges me with declaring that the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikers were "trimmed by the Grand Lodge officers."

The Court: I instruct the clerk to read the charges against the defendant, Mr. Kline.

The Clerk (reading): The first charge that defendant Kline is indicted on is for making the following statement: "I may say that the money was there all right for anyone that would take it. I had the chance myself at one time, and I know if they would give it to me they would give it to others."

Clerk (again reading): The second indictment against the defendant, Kline, is that for making the following statement: "There is no doubt about our being trimmed, but I claim that the general officers are responsible for the trimming."

The Court: If there are no objections from the opposing counsel, the plea of the defendant shall be granted.

No objection.

The Court therefore orders that indictment number two shall be the first case on the docket and is so ordered.

The Court: Preliminary arguments from both sides having been heard yesterday afternoon, the defendant's counsel has now the privilege of proceeding.

The Defendant: If it may please your honor the court, I wish to place Carl Person on the stand as a witness. Person is a striker who went out on the 30th day of September and was elected by the strikers as Assistant Strike Secretary for District No. 21, I. A. of M., and worked under the personal supervision of Mr. Jack Buckalew, Vice President of the I. A. of M., and in the latter part of 1912 was elected by the Illinois Central System Federation as their Strike Secretary. He was the authorized publicity agent of the strikers and editor of

their paper, the *Strike Bulletin*. A man who has served the strikers in every capacity from business manager to an occupant of the jail-house, Person is fully familiar with the entire situation. There is no man that had anything to do with the strike who knows the strike conditions and the developments during the strike any better than the defendant's witness, Carl Person. He has been arrested fourteen times on charges of everything from criminal libel to murder in the first degree, and I pray your honor that Person be given every available opportunity to go over the entire situation, that this large and intelligent jury, who have come here from all four corners of the continent, may leave this courtroom having received from this witness that knowledge that is so necessary to render a just decision on the charge against the defendant. I am profoundly satisfied that his honor, the court, will in his unbiased judgment come to the realization of the necessity in giving this witness the opportunity of telling this gruesome story as he, and only he, knows it and can tell it. For by this witness the defendant hopes to prove to the satisfaction of my distinguished friends, the jury, that when the history of the labor movement is recorded, imbecility, assumption of authority, deception and falsehood will be written across the pages of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike. With the testimony of Carl Person, and along with the evidence the defendant will produce, we are sure this intelligent jury will decide that the strikers were trimmed, and I say "trimmed by the Grand Lodge officers," who in all the weakness of a child did not have the courage to shoulder the responsibility of their own mismanagements, but with the weakness of a babe and the cowardice of a traitor came forth and buried the carcass of that elephant that they rode upon the highways and byways of this country during the popular days of 1911, in the front yards of the soldiers that stood and fell in the trenches.

I say to your honor, and the distinguished and intelligent members of this jury, that, like the wayward girl who laid her new-born babe upon the strange cottage door and after it

was nourished and fed stole back in the darkness of the night and murdered it, and then buried it in the front yard of those who loved it most, so, too, these Grand Lodge officers came and laid their new-born babe, the Federation, before the cottage doors of thousands of families, and after they had taken it in, fed it and nourished it, these Grand Lodge officers, like the wayward girl, came back in the dark hours of the night, when the inhabitants of these cottages were unaware of danger, the danger of the intruder who operates when the stars shine dim. Then they, too, murdered the babe that was most loved by the soldiers; and I say, gentlemen of this jury, they dug graves in the soldiers' front yards and buried it there, so that the poor soldiers, who fought and fell and now stand in the shadow of rags and poverty, would be convicted for that nefarious crime that was engineered and committed by these Grand Lodge officers, who are here prosecuting the defendant. I reiterate to your honor, the court, and this responsible jury, that by the defendant's witness, Carl Person, we shall establish our case of not guilty and prove by the most searching investigation to the modern thinkers of this jury that although the defendant was associated with these criminals he was not aware of the fact that their motives were so impure that they would steal up to the cottage door in the stillness of the night and murder their own offspring that they were too cowardly to raise, and then bury it in that conspicuous place in the soldiers' front yards, so that pedestrians on the highways could point to its grave and defame the character of the inhabitants by branding them as traitors. I say again to your honorable court that—

Interrupted by the Prosecution: I object, your honor, to the defendant making this plea, here at this time; let him put his witness on the stand.

The Defense: I apologize to the court and jury for taking up the time and will concede to the learned counsel's objection by putting the defendant's witness on now.

The Court: Carl Person to the witness stand.

The Court: I now introduce the defendant's witness, Carl Person, to the learned members of the profession and the honorable jury in this most important case of William H. Johnston vs. Jim Kline.

Carl Person: My dear reader, the records of this trial were suppressed by a vote of the machine. The reasons given by Mr. H. C. Carr, Machinist Business Agent of the Rock Island Railroad, were that you did not have sense enough to understand them. (See minutes of the convention after secret session.) Therefore, thinking that it would possibly be interesting to some people, I have given you in this book the story of the strike and how it was played, as I tried to tell it before the convention in the two days that I had the floor there, Thursday and Friday, the 14th and 15th of April, 1916. The story in this book is written from the blue prints of the strike, and therefore lacks the excitement that would be added to it if it were possible to produce the notes of the proceedings of the Committee of the Whole of the Kansas City Convention. But there is only a certain kind of reading matter that is good for you. (?) And there are advisers who are in a better position to advise you on what is advisable for you to read than you yourself. Then, my readers, you must be satisfied with that advice, for he that questions the advice of the advisers is doomed to travel thorn-strewn paths and will be trailed by the advisers as the fox hounds trail the quarry.

I have more confidence in you than the jury of the honorable court, and believe that you can fully understand the story of the strike. If, however, you do not, this is because of my inability to write the story in an understandable manner, and not due to any lack of intelligence on your part. In this event, charge the deficiency up to the author.

At the Kansas City Convention it was proven that the Grand Lodge officers trimmed the strikers and trimmed them bad, and that they were not trimmed by anyone else but the Grand Lodge officers. Mr. Kline proved that the money was there for anyone that wanted to take it. And that he had the

opportunity to take it from an ex-United States Senator, who acted as the go-between, in the form of a check signed by the Illinois Central Railroad Company and made payable for any amount that Mr. Kline wanted to have inserted on that check. (This Mr. Kline made reference to at the Briggs House convention in 1911.) This information was brought out in the secret session of Jim Kline's trial and is with other valuable information locked up in the safe in Mr. Wharton's office, and is matter that Mr. Carr, Machinist Business Agent on the Rock Island, thinks the common herd can't understand. Mr. Kline turned the Illinois Central propositions down and fought for the interest of the strikers that much harder, while the other Grand Lodge officers were doing everything they could to let the strike die, and when they couldn't accomplish this, they took it upon themselves to call the strike off.

What would you think in this case?

Did somebody take the money?

Do you think that Mr. Kline was the only General President that was offered the money?

Did those who called the strike off get anything for the strikers in so doing?

Then, why was the strike called off?

They were not paying any strike benefits at the time the strike was called off, were they?

Didn't the calling off of the strike benefit the railroad companies?

Didn't the Grand Lodge Presidents that called off the strike send out a circular on March 11, 1912, stating that the strike then was costing the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines seven million dollars per month (\$7,000,000)? Didn't every Vice President who covered the lines in their monthly reports up to the very last report made by them in their journals, state that the companies were up against it on account of the strike? Or are these journals published for the benefit of giving you misleading information?

Doesn't William Hannon, Vice President of the Machinists, tell you in the October issue of the *Machinists' Journal* for 1915, page 908, that here in October, four months after the strike was legally declared off, when he tried to get a conference with General Manager Scott of the Southern Pacific, he was told that the strike was still hurting the company? If it was hurting the S. P. R. R. in October, 1915, how much more was it injuring them five months previous, on the 24th of May, 1915, when it was officially declared that the strikes would be called off?

Or, was the Machinist organization spending \$155,381.15 publishing a journal from June 1, 1911, to June 1, 1915, the four years during the strikes, just to give William Hannon, Walter Ames, H. J. Molloy, Samuel Grace and J. G. Taylor an opportunity to mislead the strikers and the membership in general?

The Machinists were either misled by their own officers through the Journal, or badly stung by the Grand Lodge officers, who declared the strike off, were they not?

The declaring off of the strikes cost honest men their principles, and if they were misled through the Journal, this misinformation cost them \$155,381.15, just while the show was going on.

Didn't M. F. Ryan, President of the Carmen, state at the Davenport Convention in 1911 that nobody at any time had any right to surrender the sacred rights of the principles of federation?

Didn't Franklin of the Boilermakers make the same kind of a speech there?

And President O'Sullivan of the Sheet Metal Workers?

Didn't the Machinist Convention make this declaration at Davenport?

Did not Mr. Johnston as President of the Machinists assume the responsibility as President to carry out these declarations made by the convention?

Did anybody take the money? Or did they just feel so

lonesome for the *Santa Fe* and the *L. & N.* that they wanted to give them new company?

Why were there such efforts made to call the strike off before the Industrial Commission made the *investigation*?

Why was the strike called off during the *business rush* to San Francisco fair?

Why were the strikes declared off when *business* started to boom and the ammunition factories wanted mechanics, and were willing to pay the best of wages?

Why was the strike called off, when the company did not even put the old men back to work who had worked for them from 20 to 35 years?

If the Grand Lodge officers did not take the money, did they not perform gallant service in the interest of the railroad companies gratis?

Pardon me, it is not in place to ask you these questions; you who Business Agent Carr of the Rock Island said have not got sense enough to understand them? And I trust that they will not interfere or disturb your curiosity. I was young and foolish once and used to let these matters disturb me, and they sure gave me a run for my hide, and are still, after what is left of it. So you see, curious children sometimes have to pay and pay a high price for the amusement they get out of curiosity.

These things came up at the convention, or before the jury of his honorable court in Kansas City, and I am sure that you will agree with me that to allow the notes and photographs of such a trial get to the public would display unbusinesslike methods on the part of the Grand Lodge officers. Someone is liable to get wise to the play, and then the players would have difficulty in playing the same drama again. And as long as no one hollers, and if the game is profitable to play, they will play the same game again.

Before I leave Kansas City, I must tell you something about the convention, and tell it as near as I can remember it. Mr. J. P. Noonan of the Electrical Workers was the acting

chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and a regular fellow. Every once in a while when I went to the trough for water he would turn his head and say in an undertone: "Go to it, and give them h—l, Kid." Mr. Johnston of the Machinists was there with his attorneys, J. J. Dowling, who has a post as Business Manager on the Frisco, and Nicholson, who is a Vice President of the Association. They were sitting directly in front of me, with Johnston in the middle, and back of them was the Machinist delegation, with several business agents.

On the left were the Carmen, headed by President Ryan, who was seated near his delegation, and on the further left were the Boilermakers' delegation, headed by Vice President Hinzman, who worked the strike zone during the early days. Mr. Wharton, President of the department, with Vice President Pring, sat in front a little to the right, and on the right side in front sat the entire Blacksmiths' delegation, who were the defendants in the case, headed by Kline, Tobin, Horn, VanDornes and Bolam. Back of the Blacksmiths were the Sheet Metal Workers and the Switchmen, and they were all a bunch of live fellows. They did not seem to have any strings tied to them at all, but laughed and took chews of tobacco and didn't care if their boss saw them doing it.

The Machinists had been pretty well worked on. Attorneys Dowling and Nicholson had announced my coming down in advance, and of course told them how mean I had been to Pete Conlon's little dog, how I used to lay around in the "rebels' nest" and pinch the tail until the dog wagged way up there in Washington. (Reference, P. J. Conlon.) And from where I stood this was very much noticed on the Machinist delegation. Of course, the learned counsel did not inform them that the dog was dying at the time.

Mr. Ryan of the Carmen didn't say anything, for he was afraid that I was going to surrender the platform to him and call him up and introduce him to the audience, as the gentleman who would then try and make his Davenport speech over again, or to tell the audience why he thought I ought to have

been hanged. Mr. McCreery, who was President of the Illinois Central Federation and died on the job for the promise of the post of Vice President of the Carmen, was there. But in a careless way I announced that I was going to use him as one of my exhibits. And McCreery left Kansas City. Molloy, who I also intended to use as an exhibit, did not come for some reason or other.

While I was barking away the best I knew how, the good jury was taking notes; half of the audience had their pencils and notebooks out and I was given more leeway than a Paris banker in London; anything went, and nobody seemed to object, but instead of the objections the notes were taken down rapidly, and of course the learned counsel thought this was as fine as I thought it was myself, for they figured, *let him go*, and he will *hang himself in time*. I barked away until three-thirty in the afternoon, when I figured that I had said enough to convince anyone that the strikers were trimmed, and trimmed by their own Grand Lodge officers. And so here I made my little bow to the worthy brothers just as we used to do after speaking our little piece in Sunday school, during the Christmas holidays, and thanked them for their undivided microscopic attention.

As I was about to leave, I bit off the appendix of a second-hand stogie, for the microbes that were forming in the saliva, and turned to say adieu to his honor the court, who had been such a regular fellow during the exposition. Just then there arose a commotion, and I found it was among the learned counsel, Mr. C. T. Nicholson, the special attorney for Mr. Johnston, in which he vociferated his opinions very promiscuously around the charges that I hadn't said anything that would tend to convince him or his delegation that the strikers had been trimmed by the Grand Lodge officers. He continued there in that majestic manner that is so noticeable among Washingtonians, and that no one is imbued with unless he has had the opportunity to live upon the fragrance of the Washington atmosphere and the oxygen from the Machinist treasury.

If Dame Fortune should call on me and say that she was to rob me of all my memories but just one, and she were kind enough to allow me to be the judge of the one that I wished to keep, then out of all of them I would select this picture, that I have photographed upon my memory of the learned counsel, Mr. Nicholson, as he stood there in his polished fashion. With this alone I could live on for a hundred years and lay around and laugh and bite my toes like the baby in the cradle.

Here he stood, this splendid diplomat who buried the hatchet for Mr. Johnston's friend that had been *scabbing for eight months* on the short line, when the strike was called off, trying to defend the Grand Lodge officers for trimming the strikers. A man like him, who did not know any more about the Federation and the strike in general than a hog knows about the Lord's Prayer.

Intense excitement prevailed in the court room. The delegates to the right who were the rebels were moving around in their chairs. The defendant made an objection and *I defended* the action of Mr. Nicholson and *suggested that he should continue*. Some of our friends in the rebel delegation gave me the *high sign* from their fixed position and accumulated laughter prevailed everywhere in the rebel line-up. All of the associated attorneys in Mr. Johnston's delegation, Attorney Brunson of St. Louis, Attorney Carr, Machinists' Business Manager of the Rock Island Lines, and the other shining lights on Mr. Johnston's staff gathered around him. Attorney Dowling, Machinists' Business Manager of the Frisco lines, sat to the right of Mr. Johnston transferring his notes over to the speaker for their delegation, Mr. Nicholson, so that he wouldn't run out of a subject to talk on. While a very distinguished looking gentleman who wore a fancy vest and carried a luxurious head of hair, started to walk up and down the aisle adjacent to the Machinists' delegation, and frequently stroked his heavy auburn locks. He was a scholar and philosopher from Wichita, Kan. (the State of Sockless Simpson), by the name of E. L. Barraclough.

Mr. Ryan of the Carmen moved about and looked a bit nervous as he viewed the witness stand, while the reactionary delegations were whispering and smiling, I assume exchanging their opinions, and predicting that the speakers have sure got the ingrate hung on his own arguments now. As Attorney Nicholson closed up his very fine and polished oration with the musical expostulation, "That here I say to your honor the court, the court and my very distinguished colleagues of this sacred jury, that this man here today, who has in the most intrusive, impolite and undignified manner charged the Grand Lodge officers of the various associations, and my esteemed friend, Mr. Johnston (subdue sobs), whom I have the honor and pleasure to represent before this honorable court, of being social criminals and of trimming the strikers on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. I say, as I stand here burdened with all the wisdom of the labor movement, that this man has not produced one iota of documentary evidence to substantiate even one of the malicious statements that he has intruded upon our intelligence."

Mr. Nicholson's magnificent speech brought tears to the eyes of the emotional Johnston and applause from the reactionary side of the court room.

Several of the Machinist delegates arose to the floor and tried to send in their decisions simultaneously. Defendant objected. *I said let them come*, that I would play the game any way they wanted it played. The rougher they made it, the better I would like it. The court ordered me to proceed, which I did by stating that I realized that they had gathered and were under a large expense, and in addition to this trial they had many other subjects to take up, and that I felt that the seven hours that I had consumed going over the strike situation was all they could afford to give me. In my talk I had often been interrupted by my own thoughts, that I was intruding upon their time by taking the liberty to consume as much of it as I had. Now, however, that it seemed to have been enjoyed by all and I was invited to continue, I assure you that

this kind extension was appreciated far beyond such words as I could find for a suitable expression. Further, that I was in a position to stay a week or a month with them and could talk that long if necessary on this interesting subject of the trimming the strikers got. That I had the documentary proof for every statement I made, and how very thankful I was to the learned counsel, Mr. Nicholson, for the splendid opportunity he had made for me to produce them and place them on exhibition.

I brought forth the documents and exhibits, and took the liberty to make a speech on every one of them. The first day the court was held until six o'clock in the evening, and by that time Attorney Nicholson discovered that *he was in bad* and made a *grave mistake by inviting an extension of time for the discussion*. The court adjourned at six o'clock and the members of the jury left for the gay lights of the city.

While going out through the Annex, I found that I had some friends there. The Blacksmiths were all there with a hand of comradeship and the Switchmen, Electrical Workers and a large portion of the Sheet Metal Workers' delegation, as well as a few of the delegates from the other crafts who were at liberty to do as they pleased and didn't give a whoop who knew it or who saw it. Everybody seemed to appreciate the fact that Attorney Nicholson made *an ass of himself* by giving me an opportunity to bring out the documents and place an extension of a speech on them.

That night, at the Edward's Hotel, the Machinists held a caucus, and Attorney Nicholson was placed on trial. He got his as never before, and was sarcastically instructed that while he was still given permission to attend court in the morning, he was to play the part of a *silent counsel* for the delegation.

I spent a very pleasant evening and met many of the boys around the Edward's Hotel. Even Sam Grace of Omaha was delighted to meet me. A Machinist delegate introduced himself as coming from the South, said that he was satisfied that we *were trimmed* in that strike, but the machine there had lined

up the delegation and threatened them with *withdrawing* the support of the Grand Lodge *to their districts* if they would not "go along" and vote as they were told to do. Besides, they offered a flowery post on that Grand Lodge payroll and partial financial support to those districts that couldn't maintain a salaried Business Agent, making it possible for them to do so with the support that they would get from the Grand Lodge, providing that they remained loyal to the machine. I dismissed him by informing him that the strikers were trimmed because we had too many men to contend with just like himself, and the fact that he expressed himself as being satisfied that I was right meant nothing to me if he did not have the courage to stand on his convictions when he was satisfied we were right.

The court went in session on time in the morning (Friday, the 15th), and it started out to be more exciting than on the previous day. Attorney Dowling, who had now been made chief counsel for the Machinists' delegation, acted as spokesman and started to object frequently to making my little speech too extensive on some of the documents, for you understand they didn't want the situation put forth with any more clothes off than they could help. For this you could not blame them. While I was making an effort to undress my exhibits and shake it before them in its nakedness. With my unvarnished monkey-wrench vocabulary I grew out of myself and developed the madness and the crudeness of a mother when robbed of her new-born child.

While I was changing one of my exhibits, Mr. Johnston, President of the Machinists, arose and said: "You made a statement that our Association confiscated the strikers' money and used some of it for organizing purposes. Do you know that our association did not have an organizer on the payroll of the Grand Lodge from the inception of the strike until one year afterwards?" "You're a liar, Mr. Johnston," I shouted. "You took J. J. Meagher off the Illinois Central and put him on the Big Four Railroad shortly after the strike and your own financial report shows that you spent \$11,825.90 in the last

six months of 1911 and the first six months of 1912 for organizers' salaries, and during the four years of the strike, when you were blaming the Association's depleted treasury on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikers, you spent \$148,-904.14 on your political machine, and you have this amount charged up on your reports to General Organizers, who were not near the roads on strike, with the exception of Molloy, Grace and Taylor, and you took them off strike duty, as far as the strikes were concerned, in the early part of 1913. Enough money in itself to have won the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike, if placed with a few men at each terminal point on the systems, who would go out and bring forth results that win strikes. If you know anything about strikes, you will know what I mean when I say "results." Some of you people are so narrow-minded that you think that placing six dollars a week with the food sufferers will win a strike. It never did and never will, nor will the placing of twenty-five dollars a week with the food sufferers win a strike. But strikes can be won if you would place fifteen, twenty or twenty-five dollars a week with food sufferers who will get on the job and give you results for the money, the results that are necessary in the crudeness of a strike; people that have sufficient courage and influence to call on the preachers of the community and convince them of the righteousness of the cause, and other strike occupations in general, that you people realize are a necessity and haven't the courage to do. But you play on the soldiers in rags, and it was because the courage of these soldiers whose graves are not decorated over on the hillside, that the labor movement has made the progress that it has. Polished gentlemen in dress suits do not win strikes. Their business in the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines has been to ridicule the few ragged soldiers that tried to do something toward the end of winning the strike, and some of them, too, are now in their unmarked graves, and a good many others in the poor-house parade. Now that the strikes were not won, you blame it onto the unfortunate victims who had

placed full confidence in you who are too polished and too cowardly to carry the stains of defeat of a battle yourself. But if the situation had been different, and the strikes had been won, I can see you Grand Lodge officers in dress parade showering congratulations upon yourselves and copyrighting the honor of its victory." Shouts from the audience: "Object! Object! Object! I object, your honor, that man is not talking on the subject."

The court: "Give them h—l, Kid. You know I have to make them believe that I am paying attention to their objections."

Mr. Johnston then sat down and said that he would answer me later, but must have forgotten all about it, for he seemed to be satisfied with my answer.

Johnston got a shot here that put smiles on my rebel friends on the right side of the court and an occasional frown from the delegation to the left. The attorneys, Dowling and Carr, seemed to say that "The ingrate is as mean to our boss as he was to Pete Conlon's dog." Of course, in justice to Pete Conlon, I might say that the dog in Washington was not Pete's; he just had a job looking after it while Mr. Johnston was taking the rest cure down at Atlantic City.

Mr. Wharton, President of the department, who was the attorney general, was then seen getting up and going into a sanctuary of the court room, and when he came out he had more documents and papers than the officers of the Railroad Department have to go through at one of their meetings, when they are called on to decide whether Mr. Johnston of the Machinists or Mr. Bray of the Sheet Metal Workers shall collect the monthly tax from the worthy brother whose occupation it is to connect and disconnect the one-quarter inch swivel brass nut that runs from the E. T. equipment to the pump governor. You understand that there are more precedents, decisions, appeals for new trials and habeas corpus proceedings on this dispute than there are documents in the library of Congress, for whenever there is a question on the legality

of a brother's monthly taxes, then there is sure to be some squabble among the authorities. If you want to attend a trial sometimes, that is more interesting than two women in court, both claiming the motherhood of the same baby, than try to get within a mile or so of one of the Railway Department meetings, when two of these gentlemen are engaged in both claiming the fatherhood of this poor rusty old swivel brass nut. You'll have more real enjoyment than any country dance you ever went to, even if the girls were dressed in taut suits and wore wooden shoes.

Well, here was Wharton, standing up with all these documents, circular letters, and as I looked down upon the documentary collection I treated myself to a joyous smile, for I saw a good many old copies of my old sweetheart, the *Strike Bulletin*, and as Mr. Wharton started out on his speech to the judge, jury and so on, I realized that I was in danger of robbing Mr. Kline of the honor of being the defendant here, for it looked as if I was on trial, with the men who went on strike. I was being blamed here for everything that had taken place from Frisco to Chicago and from New Orleans to Portland, and of course I had a fine alibi. All I would have to do was to call up Mr. Ryan of the Carmen, and Franklin of the Boilermakers, Johnston of the Machinists, as well as Kline of the Blacksmiths, put them on exhibition alongside of me there on the platform, and pulled out the proceedings of the Machinist Convention at Davenport for April, 1911, and put it in front of Mr. Johnston, so he would not lose his place. Then I could have told Mr. Wharton, the prosecuting attorney, and called special attention to the jury of my exhibits, by telling them that now that you have heard the charges put forth, with the accusations that myself and the strikers are responsible for this muddle and social mess. I want to prove that Wharton doesn't know what he is talking about. It is my exhibits that are responsible for all this. Then to substantiate my statement under oath, I could call Mr. Johnston's attention to the evidence set forth by Mr. Wharton, and say:

Now, Johnston, for the first time I have got you under oath and you have to tell the truth. Are you guilty or not guilty? Johnston, of course, would have to have said, "Yes, I am guilty." Now, Mr. Ryan, are you guilty or not guilty? Guilty! Guilty! Mr. Franklin, see there what Wharton has got? Now you did that, did you not?

Franklin in hesitation.

Come on, now, Franklin; I have your record here on page so and so. Don't side-step. Come on. Well, 'er, yes, I am guilty.

And, Mr. Kline, can you see there what Mr. Wharton has? He is blaming that onto the poor fellows that you Grand Lodge officers called on strike. Isn't it a fact that you Grand Lodge officers spread the jam that Wharton has there all over this country some time in the latter part of 1911?

Kline: Of course we did. Brothers Ryan, Franklin and Johnston said that we didn't do it, but I said that we did.

Then I would say, Now, Mr. Kline, isn't it a fact that the money was there for those that would take it? And Mr. Kline would say, Of course it was; I was offered the money, and if they offered me the money, I have good reason to believe that the money was offered to the rest of the Presidents; and there is one thing certain, and that is, that the money was there for anyone that wanted to take it, and I have often wondered why Ryan was taken in a room in the Kaiserhof Hotel by Mr. Bucher, at one time the Master Car Builder of the Illinois Central Railroad, and more surprised when I learned that he had been invited back to another conference with the same individual, and still more astonished when I heard that the same man had put up a proposition to Ryan that he and Mrs. Ryan would be taken care of the rest of their lives. My man did not come back the second time to me. Do you know the reason why?

Then I would have given them all a nice little fatherly talk, and told those who had tried to lie out of their embarrassment that it was not very nice for them to blame the "breaking of the windows" to the smaller children, when they

themselves were responsible for the damage done, and besides, they were the largest boys in the class, and now that they have reached the age where they should be expected to be trusted to go out and play with the other children without being mean to them. Had I done this, I of course could have won the case for Mr. Kline, myself and the men on strike.

But this wouldn't have been a very interesting trial, so I said, Come on, Mr. Wharton, load it all onto yours truly, and informed him that I was there ready to shoulder the responsibility of all men who went on strike and did not turn traitor to their fellows. I said *I would* take the responsibility for the shortcomings that *he had*, and would charge to them, regardless of where they went on strike. Or where they might be at this time.

Mr. A. O. Wharton, after a pause, continued: "Yes, here, your honor and my fellow-citizens of this jury, I charge this man with forgery! I say that on Feb. 26, 1915, this man here, your honor, sent out a circular letter soliciting subscriptions from our people, so that he could continue running the *Strike Bulletin*, and he even asked the people not to ride the Southern Pacific to the San Francisco fair. And to this letter he forged the signature of Attorney Frank Comerford of Chicago." (Intense silence prevailed among the rebels, apparent smiles of satisfaction from the reactionary delegations.)

"Say, fellows, here is a guy charging me with forgery. That, sure, is a tame indictment. Why, during the strike I did many things much worse than that, and the only reason I did not forge the name of *A. O. Wharton* to any of our circulars was because I realized that it *would injure* the cause of the men on strike and the *Strike Bulletin* as well. Had I thought for a minute that Mr. Wharton's signature or the signature of anyone else would have been instrumental to the successful ending of that strike, I should have willingly and knowingly made use of such signatures upon circular letters, bankable notes or anything else, for could a strike of that magnitude arrive at the terminus of an honorable settlement,

then the commitment of forgery by me or anyone else could be considered a matter of minor consequence, compared with the results attained. So, Mr. Wharton, if you are unable to discover where I have forged your signature I shall be pleased to inform you that I have long ago decided it of such little consequence that it does not even merit my attention when I have under consideration suitable signatures for forgery.

Kline: I object to switching someone else in here as a defendant. I am the defendant in this case and I insist on being tried instead of Person. "Objection not sustained. Person will proceed!"

But here you are, under the shower of your own perspiration, accusing me of committing forgery for the men on strike. Had such a charge come from Mr. Comerford, whose signature was used, the situation would merit some attention, or had it come from the legal department of the Southern Pacific Railroad as this could be expected. But, you, Mr. Wharton, whose *very occupation* is maintained by *the taxes of labor*, stand here and charge me with committing forgery that the cause of those that *you have deserted, surrendered and prostituted* might burn upon the highways with all the illumination that it was possible to generate.

Attorney Comerford is here in the city and will upon invitation of this convention take this platform, and then I shall prove that it was Mr. Wharton here and the Grand Lodge officers whose signatures were attached to that letter accusing me of forgery, who are the real forgers in the case, and *back* of your *insidious operations* was the fear that the using of Attorney Comerford's signature would be instrumental in procuring *sufficient funds* to keep the *Strike Bulletin* alive, in that crisis, when it necessitated the accumulated efforts of every reactionist in the Railway Department to deliver to the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines that which they admitted in 1912 drained their treasuries to the extent of \$7,000,000 a month.

"I may, however, be charged with overriding jurisdictional lines and the boundary fences, but should this be discovered the

blue prints will indicate that such intrusions have been in the interest of labor and in the interest of that crowd that you Grand Lodge officers drove into the desert in 1911, with your well wishes and profoundest prayers that they should perish, and perish like pioneer trains perished under the burning rays, as the Indian chiefs left them stranded upon the sand-laden and sun-baked desert.

"I am happy to stand here, *convicted* by the *President of the Railway Department* of having *done something* in the interest of my comrades, after they were *deserted* by Mr. Wharton and others whose duty it was to serve them as I did, whose duty it was to stand in the captain's cabin and guide their good ship through the capes of misfortune and over the straits of persistence, and who should have stood there on the deck and gone down with their ship, like the old Norse captains of old, when they were rammed by the icebergs. Instead, you as President of the Railway Department, with your coterie of Grand Lodge officers played the part of the *pirates*; you started the ship from its dock, and when out on the high seas in the darkness of the storm, *you opened up the water valves* and took the lifeboats and belts. *And as the vacuum of your manufactured catastrophe drew its victims with it to the bottom of the sea, you sat there with your associated Grand Lodge officers, intoxicated with that joy over your accomplishments that smiles around the cave man as he gnaws his morning meal from the bones of his weaker brother.*

As I stand here exercising my feeble effort in defense of a cause that is as paramount today as it was in 1911, even though it stands deserted by those from whom it deserved the most support, I am reminded of your letter to me, Mr. Wharton, of May 1, 1913, in which you stated that you, too, were going to declare war upon these pirates for their unfaithfulness to the very men and cause I am here defending. You remember the letter in which you knowingly expressed and acknowledged the fact that the movement was suffering for the want of that support which generates life and action, and

that if those whose crimes you are here now making an unsuccessful effort to defend would then not carry out your admonishments, you, Mr. Wharton, should determine it your duty to carry them out yourself. But the test of time has brought forth no records that you were strong enough to stand on your decisions. To make your weakness more deplorable is the fact that you, Mr. Wharton, you, who should stand here with me, have stood here at this convention under the frock of that commission of which I please to term the *Attorney General* for that aggregation of *social criminals*, who you at one time regarded as *unfaithful* to the cause."

Showers of objections came forth from the reactionary delegation; smiles from the rebels.

Mr. A. O. Wharton: "The honorable court and jury, I have here a copy of the *Strike Bulletin*, in which there is this statement (Mr. Wharton reading): 'I don't fear God, heaven, hell or the devil.' Did you, Carl Person, write that?"

"If such a statement is made in the *Strike Bulletin* anywhere, I shall be glad to take the responsibility for it, regardless whether I wrote it or not."

Wharton: "What do you mean by that? Explain."

"I didn't think that you people here were going to put *God* on trial too, but as it seems that I have had to defend so many of his children here, I am proud to know that I have also had the pleasure of representing God within this court. Now that the charge is that I have stated that I am not afraid of God, I want to impress upon the learned counsel, Mr. Wharton, that God is a personal friend of mine. Why should I be afraid of him? No one is afraid of his friends, and as the assumption is that the term 'heaven' is God's personal estate, and that all those who stick with God while down here crawling around on this little planet will get fine apartments on his personal estate in 'heaven.' Then, Mr. Wharton, why should I and the strikers, who stuck so faithfully, be afraid of God or heaven? God is the greatest being that I can conceive of, the great monument of the universe, the all and in all, and, tell me now,

Mr. Wharton, why should I be afraid of heaven? If heaven is as fine a place as we are told it is?"

Wharton: "Yes, go on; explain about hell and the devil now."

Intensified silence prevails. Kline smiles.

"I am sure that I enjoy this part of the proceedings as immensely as the distinguished counsel, but I may add that I consider it foreign to this convention. However, for the benefit of Mr. Wharton and those investigators who are anxious for my answer, I will state that the best evidence I can produce that I am not afraid of either hell or the devil is the fact that I dared to come to this convention. I knew in advance that here the devil would be well represented, and since my arrival I am satisfied that I have met him and seen more ingredients of hell here in this convention than there can possibly be in the devil's personal estate."

Roars of laughter from the rebel delegation.

Mr. Franklin, President of the Boilermakers, cried out: "Here, Judge, I want to know what this man meant by calling God a monument."

The Court: "You may answer the distinguished laborologist."

"You're President of the Boilermakers' International Union, aren't you, Mr. Franklin? Yes, siree! And I take it for granted that you have attended Sunday school and church in your time, and here you are *burdened with age*, coming to this convention where time is worth two hundred dollars an hour, that will have to be paid in taxes by the boys back home, who are already overtaxed and overburdened, because you people are holding conventions, discussing non-essentials and searching for knowledge that any newsboy had when he was six or seven years old. But if it is the desire of this convention that we shall now take up the question of measuring the greatness of God, then, gentlemen of this convention, I shall with my limited knowledge of Neitche, Ingersoll, Darwin and the Holy Bible endeavor to do the best I can."

Motion made that the question under discussion be dropped. Smiles from the rebels.

This was the shrewdest part of the proceedings. This is what is called professional politics and played by those who know how to play it and use it when everything else fails, but even the professionals failed here. Of course, you realize as well as I do that Mr. Wharton and Franklin were not ignorant at all. They possibly are better acquainted with the devil than I am. But this makes no difference; they had some animals here that could not think for themselves and did not realize why the religious part of it was being played.

The fact of it was that I had stood there for two days and knocked them down as they came up in their turn, from Johnston to Wharton. We had our case won, as far as showing up the trimming that the strikers got was concerned, and they fully realized this. The next best thing they could do was to bury the notes of the proceedings, and in order to do this they had to play the boys up and play them up strong. They hoped to do this on the strength of putting me on record as to my religion and my interpretation of God. Their method was to go to the protestant and say, that fellow who has been barking here is no good; you see he is a Catholic. And then they would go to the Catholic and say, he is a Protestant or an atheist, therefore no good. But as they played this very strong during the strike, I happened to be wise to their game and gave them the information they thought they asked for. After they got it, they were as wise as they were before they made the inquiry. This, however, was a shrewd card to play from their standpoint, for it generally gets the desired results everywhere. It was used on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines by both the railroad companies and some of the Grand Lodge officers.

Late Friday afternoon, the 15th, I made my final bow to the worthy brothers, gathered up my documents and walked out of the court room, and as I got near the exit a fellow was seen falling over a half dozen chairs getting towards me. As I

looked him over in his precipitation, I noticed that he was wearing smiles all over the exterior of his exhaust nozzle. As he picked himself up, he extracted my trembling hand that I was resting upon the door lock knob and swung his other grab-hook over its swivel joint, then started his valve motion, showering me with congratulations and assured me that from that time on I should occupy a position uppermost in his mind at such intervals when he had occasion to precipitate his mental visions into those chambers of thought where he had stored away the photographs of his dearest friends. And as he stood there drawing up his reverse lever towards the center, he had my elbow in motion jerking back and forth, until it looked like a Walschart valve motion connecting rod on one of the engines running sixty miles per hour with her limited train down along the banks of the Hudson. As soon as I was able to apply the emergency brakes, I discovered to my surprise that it was the learned and distinguished scholar of casuistry, lawyer and philosopher, who had appeared in the first day's proceedings as chief attorney for the reactionary delegation and on the second as the delegation's silent counsel, the most honorable C. T. Nicholson of the International Association of Machinists. Of course, it was hard to stand, for I knew that his polished song was as deceiving as the insincerity of the hand that had squeezed my fingers and accelerated the circulation that changed the pallor of my cheeks to a tinted red.

My attention was arrested by a boulevard jitney as I limped down alone along the terrace of the Paseo, and I boarded it for the busy thoroughfare where the crossing policeman guards the fast moving crowd. As I rode down over the calf paths I was filled with that joy because I had been able to sing a song of appreciation for the soldiers that had been prostituted in the war of the classes and sing it into that conspicuous place to the high court of the Railway Department, where sat the solemn preachers that were alone responsible for the catastrophe. I felt a satisfaction in having had an opportunity to assist Jim Kline in building up his justification

for having raised his voice in protest, when they swarmed the villages along the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines and sat down the tombstones of their self-murdered cause *in the front yards of the storm-washed and cyclone-beaten cottages of the soldiers who had paid the price for the principle that they adored most.*

I spent the next day, Saturday, the 16th, looking over the Missouri metropolis and absorbing the exhilarating western ingredients that so abundantly aviates the atmosphere of this hillside city. I frequently made inquiries concerning the trial that was still in progress at the court. The trial only being open to those who had come with credentials, I, of course, was not an admissible attendant there, only for the time I appeared as a witness for Mr. Kline. You might ask or wish to know why such a trial conducted in the courts under the jurisdiction of organized labor should not be conducted as the courts under the jurisdiction of the civil government; that is, keep the doors open for those who care to sit in and listen to the trial throughout the entire proceedings, if they so desire, and give them the opportunity to fortify themselves with such knowledge that would best enable them to come forth with the truth and depart with all the knowledge of the trial. And I regret very much that I am compelled to say that the courts under the jurisdictions of organized labor have not as yet advanced to that stage of fairness of holding their trials where those who pay the taxes for its very existence can come in and absorb any information regarding its proceedings.

On Saturday evening I met one of my very dear friends, who had occupied a conspicuous seat with the rebel delegation during my exhibition at court. He slipped me the glad mit, with sincere rays of magnetism protruding from his eyes. His name is Frank Donovan, and he served on the jury as a delegate from a school of Sheet Metal Workers from the Evergreen City that grew up along the Chicago and Alton in the corn-belt section of Illinois and is well known as Bloomington.

I inquired of him as to the progress of the trial, and he predicted that the verdict would be reached early next week, and expressed himself as satisfied that the strikers had been trimmed, and trimmed very shamefully. Mr. Donovan said that he was to board a train for the Evergreen and invited me to accompany him on the trip. Having, of course, fulfilled my mission at K. C. and realizing that the trip to Evergreen would bring me in close proximity of my loop circuit at Fort Dearborn, I readily accepted the generous invitation of my rebel friend, and he gave the engineer of the approaching trolley the accustomed high sign, and in a few minutes we were seated on one of the Alton's moving palaces, whose destination was the Canal Street Station in Chicago.

As the train was slowly finding its route out of the terminal switches, my generous friend, Mr. Donovan, again displayed his excessive pressure of generosity by inviting me to join him as his guest in the dining car; this, of course, I accepted with the same pleasure that is so conspicuous upon the boys at the railroad shops when the engineer opens up the whistle for lunch time. As we sat there debating on the percentage of food ingredients in the vegetables and other food varieties that the colored waiter had come forth with so abundantly, my friend carelessly dropped the subject under discussion and commenced to render decisions regarding the labor exposition that we left behind in Kansas City, and by the time he had politely admonished me for drinking the water out of the finger bowl we had reached some interesting subjects that had come up on the first day of the proceedings.

Having executed our dining room engagement, we took possession of a comfortable seat in one of the coaches ahead, and after igniting a cigar case demonstrator of the South American product, the subject that suffered partial dissolution on our excursion from the dining car to our occupied cushioned seats, was again reintroduced and we sat there in the perfume of the smoke-covered atmosphere, through the long hours of the night, discussing the merits and demerits of the burlesque

that we had left behind at K. C. As the train slowly stopped on what we thought was to give the Hoger an opportunity to go down and screw down his grease-plugs, we were surprised to find that we had arrived in the Evergreen City, where the engineer was turning his train over to a waiting crew, and so we stepped off while my friend was still expressing himself that he was unmindful of the fact that time had moved so swiftly that we had already reached our destination.

I was glad to be in the Evergreen City, for here I had some very dear friends. Many of the strikers had chosen this as their home to face the world again in. This is the city that has given to the stage Margaret Illington, and to honest people Jimmy Meagher, the dearest friend I ever had; Jimmy stuck with me when I was deserted by Business Agent Molloy and his war cabinet of District No. 21, I. A. of M., and it was largely through his efforts that we were successful in building up a Federation and maintaining an organization in the face of all organized opposition, and when Willie went to jail, big-hearted Jimmy Meagher always drove in to manage the "rebels' nest." And here was Louis Nicholson, who burned the midnight oil as the circulation manager on the *Strike Bulletin* all through its stormy career; good old honest John Mathews, Mark Carr, Michael Monahan, Bart Conley and a hundred of other strikers who played their part in the social whirlpool, and played it with credit to themselves and the cause that makes the paths of progress.

The Sheet Metal Club and those who were members of that school whose profession it is to put artistic curvatures in the pipes that carry the fluids for the great nervous system of a locomotive had advance notice that their representative, Mr. Donovan, was to drive in over Sunday to give them an oratorical synopsis of the "Passing Show" at Kansas City. A full congregation from this profession gathered during a specified hour in the morning and the artist, Mr. Donovan, projected his mental film collection of the Kansas City court on the atmospheric curtains surrounding his audience. After

the operator had revoluted his fourteen reel feature of the things as they "happened to happen" down at the Missouri metropolis, scattered delegations of the fraternity were seen standing around discussing their astonishment over the very nudeness of the situation, and after the performance a large delegation of the arists, including Donovan, called at my "inn" on the avenue, and the glad mit of comradeship displayed itself from everywhere.

I spent Sunday afternoon as the guest of my very dear friends, Jimmy Meagher and Louis Nicholson, and at a respectable hour of the evening I was informed that apartments had been prearranged for me in a cozy little caboose that was about to leave the yards with a manifest train of meat, beer and merchandise for Chicago, which, of course, was appreciated accommodations for a cosmopolitan like myself, who was obliged to travel in compliance with the most careful respect to economy of funds. After a cordial reception from the crew of the little red caboose, whose interior was decorated like the show windows of Michigan Boulevard with a large display of the artist's art from Sarah Bernhardt to September Morn, I enjoyed a pleasant chat with the members of the crew, after which I was introduced by the captain to a specially prepared cot, made up of feather cushions and pillows. And as my friend Donovan had kept me awake during the previous night with his entertaining conversation, I accepted the captain's kind offer with all the gracefulness of a southern gentleman, and I slept here uninterruptedly while the little red caboose trailed its train through the woods and over the valleys into Van Buren Street, Chicago, where I left it, the kind captain and his crew with a grateful farewell.

PART VI

JOHNSTON TAKES REVENGE BY EXCOMMUNICATING CARL PERSON FROM THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS WITHOUT A TRIAL.

EXCOMMUNICATED WITHOUT A TRIAL

THE trial at Kansas City left the heavy burdens of defeat upon the shoulders of the Wharton-Johnston machine. Mr. Kline won his case and proved that the strikers had been trimmed, and that the money was there for those who would take it. The Blacksmiths' organization that was threatened with expulsion from the Railway Department had Mr. Kline failed to make good his charges, were now secure in their seats within the chambers of the Railway Department.

Mr. Johnston was a hard loser, and started out to seek revenge. The night after the verdict it was pretty well whispered around the Edwards Hotel that if I had not come down as a witness for President Kline, Mr. Johnston and his delegation would have won. For this I was considered an unworthy brother. The next day one of the payroll patriots was delegated to collect the expressions of the members of Johnston's delegation, as well as their signatures to a document requesting my expulsion from the Mother Church in Washington. Needless to mention, this met with the accumulated approval of the Johnston delegation and some of the other delegations that had come in for their jolts during my exhibition at court.

You can better understand the welcome that this met with, if I tell you that Mr. Ryan, President of the Carmen, as good as admitted during the trial that he made the statement that I should have been hanged. And it is alleged that Mr. Johnston also stated I should have received at least fourteen years over the river for a little matter that came up during the strike, in which the Illinois Central and the politicians of DeWitt County, Illinois, were the prosecution. Had the politicians and the railroad company been successful in this case, then the International Presidents would not have met with the opposition I brought to bear against them during the strike, and I would not have had the opportunity to come to Kansas City as a witness for Mr. Kline. Therefore the sad regrets from Mr. Ryan and Mr. Johnston, as well as the payroll patriots.

Shortly after the Kansas City trial, Lodge No. 342, I. A. of M., at Bloomington, Ill., where I held my membership, was notified that I had been suspended from the Machinists' and for them not to accept any further dues from me, stating that on account of my disgraceful action during the trial at Kansas City I stood suspended from the Association. When this news arrived at the camps of the strike-breakers, along the roads that had been on strike (the scabs who now had the privilege of becoming brothers for a dollar and a half), there was as much rejoicing among them as there was when the Railway Department took them off the unfair list of organized labor by declaring the strikes off, and in their estimation the legal department of the Illinois Central and the distinguished States Attorney, Mr. Orlando Williams of DeWitt County, were considered small men and institutions compared with Mr. Johnston and his "machine," who had been successful in getting me at last, when others had failed. Had the grand chiefs been wise enough to have the crew of their "Autumn Drive" around the bull pens at the time of the breaking of this good news, they could have pulled off a successful revival and christened many of the whitewashed scabs in the I. A. of M.,

for then Mr. Johnston's reputation was established among the bull pen fraternity, and it is well conceded that at this time a good many of the scabs sent in their dollar and a half and received the iron cross.

President Johnston can best explain the action he took after being defeated in Kansas City, therefore we will hear direct from him, which reads as follows:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

Office of the President.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 23, 1916.

MR. CARL PERSON,
Care of R. S. No. 342.

Dear Sir and Brother: Please find enclosed copy of a letter I have this day written Lodge No. 342, which I trust you will consider equally addressed to you.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) WM. H. JOHNSTON,
International President.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

Office of the President.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 23, 1916.

MR. A. E. MONTEITH,
R. S. No. 342.

Dear Sir and Brother: At the recent convention of the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L., Brother Carl E. Person, a member of Lodge No. 342, repeatedly charged our Association with having confiscated money that should have been used for strike purposes. These charges were made in spite of the fact that all the money in the Grand Lodge treasury, all the money raised through assessments and borrowed from our lodges or individuals, was given to our members in the way of benefits. No organization in the history of the labor movement went to such lengths to raise money to finance the long-drawn-out strikes on the I. C. and Harriman Lines as we did.

In spite of what the organization did, Brother Person has persistently charged us with confiscating—which means misappropriating—funds. He has not only said it to our members and locals, but has heralded it broadcast to the world. He read to the convention, as he has read elsewhere, official letters from our organization. The obligation our members take is that they will keep to themselves all business matters of the Association entrusted to them. In spite of the obligation taken, Person goes forth and tells the world at large the business affairs of our Association, which concerns only our membership.

His conduct was so disgraceful at the convention that many of our delegates requested to know how long we were going to tolerate such a character within our ranks and demanded he be suspended from membership.

We have long considered the advisability of suspending Person, but owing to the fact that he was involved in trouble have refrained from taking any action, but the time has now come when we cannot permit him or any other individual to make such false and slanderous statements about the officers of the I. A. of M. and retain membership therein.

Therefore, by the power vested in me in the constitution, I suspend Carl E. Person from membership, and your lodge is instructed to receive no further dues from him after this date.

This matter was discussed at our meeting of the G. E. B. and I advised the board the action I was about to take, and they concurred in such action, as the minutes of the board, under date of May 9th, will show. I am sending a copy of this letter to Person in your care.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) WM. H. JOHNSTON,
International President.

President Johnston's foregoing letter is the best evidence in my possession that I served the common cause during the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike, and at the Kansas City Convention as well. I am happy to know that I graduated from a four-year course in that exciting seminary of industrialism with the high honors attached to my credit by President Johnston of the International Association of Machinists.

My credentials from President Johnston convey the fact that I called his attention to his method of juggling the funds which were the property of the men on strike and charged him with confiscating during the progress of the strikes and at the convention at Kansas City as well. I did not wait until several years after he had performed his operations to inform him that he was misappropriating funds, and he gives me credit for all this.

As my foregoing diploma states under President Johnston's signature, that I did not only inform the members of the I. A. of M of President Johnston's method of confiscation, but "heralded it broadcast to the world." In this statement President Johnston flatters me, and gives me more credit than I am

entitled to, as I was not aware of the fact that my system of exposing the pirates had been so efficient and scientific that it had reached into the international continents. It is true that I was successful in extending this campaign of education over the Canadian border and into the Isthmus of Panama, and while the legislative commission of the British empire that had for its purpose the elimination of wooden passenger coaches in Great Britain, Ireland and Wales used our graveyard editions of the *Strike Bulletin* in the House of Commons as exhibits in procuring legislation that would compel railroads to replace wooden coaches with steel equipment. I cannot believe that the British House of Commons devoted very much time in debating the subject on what grounds President Johnston took the right to confiscate the funds of the men, that his Machinist Convention in Davenport, Iowa, in 1911, decided must go on strike. Even though this sad news of Mr. Johnston's confiscating the funds of his war babies had penetrated the boundary line of our allies, it is absurd to think for a moment that my newspaper syndicate was so complete that I could sit there in my rebel nest, without access to the trans-continental cables, the Marconi radiograph, or even a special wire over the Bell system to Frisco or New York and make the news of President Johnston's method of confiscation so effective that it was "heralded to the world."

Not wishing to accuse President Johnston of having a desire to mislead you, as he was preparing my credits, I wish to dismiss this obvious error of his by stating that he over-exaggerated my qualifications a little in this respect.

Mr. Johnston further states that my conduct in Kansas City was disgraceful. To my many friends, who, like myself, became the victims and paid the price asked of us by the Davenport Convention of the Machinists in 1911, and by the declarations as outlined by President Johnston as the President of the International Association of Machinists; to you I submit President Johnston's own testimony as to my character. To stand disgraceful in the estimation of President Johnston

was to stand true to the principles that stood in the very eve of being jeopardized during the Davenport Convention, and if my action in Kansas City in April, 1916, was disgraceful because I defended the action as taken by the Davenport Convention in 1911, then, too, the Davenport Convention committed a disgraceful act in calling the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike and President Johnston as well by serving them in performing that which he considered a disgraceful act.

My records here of undeniable facts should substantiate that it was President Johnston that proved himself a disgrace, not only to the Machinists' organization but to the labor movement in general, for he turned a traitor to the labor movement under the camouflage of pacifist, he who eventually surrendered the democracy of the Machinists' organization to the autocratic decisions of himself and deserted the army that had become bankrupt while singing the song—on to victory.

To stand before the Kansas City Convention, where sat President Johnston and his delegation, and in the language of the street call his attention to some of the jobs he pulled off during the strike, which are a part of these records, that was disgraceful in the estimation of President Johnston and his delegation of serfs as well. While those serfs could stand to have the integrity of their International President questioned by someone who would make such assertions at a distance of a thousand miles or so, it did not meet with their approval when I stood in front of Mr. Johnston at the Kansas City Convention and challenged him to deny one or any of them. He sat there like an immigrant on Ellis Island, unable to say a word for himself to justify his actions, as they were photographed during the progress of the strike.

We further find from the diploma as presented me by President Johnston, that I stood suspended from the I. A. of M. without a trial, and that his Executive Board approved of his actions in suspending me, without giving me a trial, as per the constitution of the Machinist union.

And again, Mr. Johnston states: "In spite of the obligation taken, Person goes forth and tells the business affairs of our association, which concerns only our membership." Mr. Johnston feels somewhat injured because the sad news of his method of holding up the men on strike had become an open book among the membership outside of the I. A. of M. It was fair and proper that this information was conveyed to them, because Mr. Johnston's operations affected the Federation as a whole and the strike in general, and it therefore became my duty as Secretary of the Federation to sound the alarm of approaching danger when such people as Mr. Johnston were undermining its very foundation.

Mr. Johnston in his letter of credit to me wishes to convey that had this information been confined to the membership of the I. A. of M. I would have been within the law. This, however, is misleading, for while serving the Machinist District No. 21 as their Secretary in November, 1912, these records will show that I was then suspended by Mr. Johnston for conveying this information to the membership of the Machinists exclusively, informing them that the funds of the men on strike were being confiscated by the Grand Lodge.

I could cite a multitude of cases to justify the action I took insofar as conveying what Mr. Johnston is pleased to term the secrets of the Association, which in this case was the fact that Mr. Johnston was confiscating the funds of his war babies, and in other cases the fact that he turned a traitor to the men on strike and to the labor movement in general. This, of course, Mr. Johnston wanted to keep a secret and therefore termed these operations the "secrets of the Association."

I wish to cite one particular case where such secrets as contained in these records have been conveyed by other members of the I. A. of M. Mr. Walter Ames, Vice President of the International Association of Machinists, in a very interesting document, under date of March 31, 1917, dated in Indianapolis, Ind., in which Mr. Ames is giving the secrets of the Association a very interesting airing. Mr. Walter Ames is

one of Mr. Johnston's confidential operators and a member of the Executive Board of the I. A. of M. who approved of Mr. Johnston's action in suspending me from the Association without a trial, it will be interesting and amusing as well to read Mr. Ames' document, which was sent by him to all lodges of the I. A. of M., and it will be well to bear in mind that there were no charges preferred against Mr. Ames, nor was he expelled from the Association, but continued in the capacity as an Executive Board member and Vice President of the I. A. of M. Therefore, let us meet Mr. Ames, who is giving the secrets of the I. A. of M. the following airing:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

March 31, 1917.

REPORT OF GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER WALTER AMES, WHICH HAS BEEN DENIED PUBLICATION
IN THE APRIL ISSUE OF OUR JOURNAL, AND
WHICH IS IN REPLY TO PRESIDENT JOHNSTON'S MINORITY REPORT IN
MARCH JOURNAL.

March 15, 1917.

Editor Journal: President Johnston in my opinion has made a fatal mistake by resorting to our Journal in print, airing another Grand Lodge official family dispute he has just taken on with three members of the General Executive Board, which has been published on pages 261, 262, 263, 264 March Journal, under the heading, "Minority Report."

I would willingly defray the expense of sending this report out to the members by circular letter if there was a chance of it reaching the same publicity among our members as did the so-called minority report, but that is not possible; therefore, I am compelled to send my reply through the columns of our Journal in justice to myself.

After concluding the Grand Lodge family wrangle at the Baltimore Convention, and Brothers Hannon, Keppier and myself came on the G. E. B. as new board members, I honestly thought everything would go along harmoniously in the official family in the conduct of our official business, and seemingly everything did go along nicely until we got onto the ropes and pried the lid off from several matters which didn't seem just right, and just that soon we met strenuous opposition.

We found the three new members of the board were being side-tracked, ignored and not consulted on many important subjects. We learned that President Johnston was calling many strikes at an expenditure of hundreds and thousands of dollars to the organization, without even consulting the board, let alone getting the approval of the board, as per our constitutional laws.

We found he had been appointing special organizers and business agents at an added expense to our organization, without even informing the board or getting their approval as per our constitutional laws.

We found that he had been making a loaning agency out of our headquarters treasury by giving this fellow and that fellow member a five

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or a ten as he would happen along to visit headquarters, which is in violation of our constitutional laws, and evidently some of these fellows were impressed with President Johnston's financial system, and they would repeat their visits some two or three times, thinking it was easy money. Look over schedule No. 2, page 140, auditors' report, February Journal.

We found organizers out on the road jumping from place to place doing political work at a big financial loss and expense to our organization.

We found that President Johnston was sending the special organizers out, giving specific instruction to do political work in getting nominations and votes so as to defeat Brother George Preston as General Secretary-Treasurer.

We also found that our Grand Lodge headquarters office was being used to hold political meetings by Grand Lodge officers, special organizers and others in attendance to line up and frame up the dope for the election and defeat of Grand Lodge officers.

We also found from the advanced financial statement for the month ending Jan. 31 that the amount of \$9,659.50 was paid out to our worthy striking brothers over the country, as against \$11,761.80 paid to special organizers in the field.

We requested an official report of the travels and expenses for the past three months of all our 43 special organizers, and we were astonished at the extravagance and waste of money on the majority of these reports furnished from our Grand Lodge records. I will insert for your consideration one of these reports which is a fair sample of many others, and will then ask you how organizing work can be done effectively by jumping over the country as follows:

No. 196.

May 28. From Sandusky to Dayton.
May 29. From Dayton to Indianapolis.
May 30. From Indianapolis to Dayton.
May 31. From Dayton to Columbus.
June 1. From Columbus to Piqua.
June 1. From Piqua to Urbana.
June 2. From Urbana to Dayton.
June 2. From Dayton to Cincinnati and return.

No. 197.

June 4. From Dayton to Toledo.
June 5. From Toledo to Bucyrus.
June 7. From Bucyrus to Lima.
June 8. From Lima to Bucyrus.
June 8. From Bucyrus to Springfield.
June 9. From Springfield to Piqua.
June 9. From Piqua to Dayton.
June 10. From Dayton to Lima.

No. 198.

June 11. From Lima to Bucyrus.
June 12. From Bucyrus to Lima.
June 13. From Lima to Piqua.
June 13. From Piqua to Dayton.
June 14. From Dayton to Lima.
June 15. From Lima to Bucyrus.

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June 15. From Bucyrus to Columbus.

June 16. From Columbus to Dayton.

No. 199.

June 18. From Dayton to Lima.

June 19. From Lima to Bucyrus and return.

June 20. From Lima to Piqua.

June 20. From Piqua to Dayton.

June 21. From Dayton to Lima.

June 22. From Lima to Bucyrus.

June 23. From Bucyrus to Dayton.

No. 200.

June 25. From Dayton to Lima.

June 26. From Lima to Piqua.

June 27. From Piqua to Dayton.

June 28. From Dayton to Lima.

June 29. From Lima to Bucyrus.

June 30. From Bucyrus to Dayton.

July 1. From Dayton to Baltimore.

No. 201.

July 5. From Baltimore to Toledo.

July 6. From Toledo to Dayton.

* Note—Pleasure trip made to Indianapolis and expenses incurred attending automobile races.

If space would permit, I would insert a list of travels of many other organizers which was obtained from our Grand Lodge records showing the extravagance and wasting of our organization's funds.

Our membership should demand their Recording Secretary to read to the members at a regular or special meeting of that part of the printed minutes of the General Executive Board meeting of Feb. 5, commencing on page 13 to page 22, inclusive, which will prove beyond a question of doubt that President Johnston's minority report in the March Journal is incorrect, misleading, and I believe done for the purpose of poisoning the minds of our members against those members of the board who are earnestly and sincerely endeavoring to eradicate the wrongs and evils which have existed in our Grand Lodge for some time past.

You will read on page 13 of the board minutes of an organizer being appointed by President Johnston, advanced one hundred dollars expense money, sent out on the road before he had received his due book. Another organizer, you will note, was appointed by President Johnston on Aug. 24th, and the Grand Lodge records show he was initiated into our Association Aug. 31st, which was just one week after he received his appointment to do organizing work.

Is it possible that we cannot find among our large membership good, old-time, faithful members who are sufficiently qualified to hold these coveted positions as special organizers, which now pays a salary of one hundred and fifty dollars per month, with an allowance of three and one-half dollars per day for hotel expenses, also railroad fare and incidental expenses, without having to go on the outside and appoint men who do not and never did belong to the I. A. of M.

President Johnston in his minority report accuses me of disregarding the rules of propriety and committing a breach of etiquette by informing

the members at meeting of Lodge No. 174 of what had occurred at a meeting of the board, and that he (President Johnston) addressed the meeting and denied the truth of my statements. I wish to say that twice did I decline the request of the President of Lodge 174 to address the meeting, and it was only after all members of the General Executive Board had taken the floor, addressing the meeting at some length, did I consent to speak, and then only after the insistent request of the President of the lodge and the members around the lodge room. However, as to the propriety and etiquette part of President Johnston's charge, it is my opinion the membership should know what is going on, and the sooner they know more about what is going on in our Grand Lodge and the Association at large, the better off will be the I. A. of M.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) WALTER AMES,
Members of General Executive Board.

Note—Lodges No. 511, No. 161, No. 910 being conversant with the above stated facts, have approved and endorsed same, and has insisted on Board Member Walter Ames sending this matter out in circular form to the membership at large.

From Executive Board Member Ames we learn that he is giving the secrets of the Association quite an airing. And further, that Mr. Johnston is charged by Mr. Ames of having given the secrets of the Association an airing himself in the March issue of the *Machinists' Journal* for 1917, pages 261, 262, 263, 264. If these people were justified in airing the secrets of the Association in the four corners of the continent in a political feud in 1917, when the only things at stake were the political aspirations of Johnston and Ames, then was I not justified in sounding the danger alarm in 1912 and for several years subsequent, when the morality of the entire labor movement was at stake and the jobs of thirty-eight thousand men as well?

Vice President Ames had at one time or another violated the confidence of the campaign manager of the Johnston political machine, and when the pre-election slates were arranged, Mr. Ames failed to receive favorable mention. This condition of affairs aggravated Mr. Ames to such a serious extent that for several weeks in the early part of 1917 he started out to "spill the beans" and appointed himself an apostle of a reform movement. It will be necessary to make you better acquainted with Mr. Ames.

Mr. Ames was Vice President of the I. A. of M. in 1911. He was assigned to handle the strikes on the Union Pacific, Oregon Short Line, and the Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company, which were the northern part of the Harriman Lines ordered out on strike in September, 1911, by the Davenport Convention of the I. A. of M. How well he served the men on strike and the Association he was working for can be best understood by quoting Mr. Ames himself, while in conference with President L. M. Hawver of District No. 21, I. A. of M., at Clark and Adams Streets, Chicago, in the early part of 1916, in which he said in substance: "That he was not in favor of the strikes; did everything he could to prevent them taking place; that the men who went on strike were nothing but an aggregation of irresponsibles, and that the Association was not going to stand for that which was said against the General Officers."

It can now be better understood why the strike was lost, when we had vice presidents like Walter Ames, with authority on the lines, that were against the strike. How, then, could he put the necessary initiative and enthusiasm in the movement to make it effective? And in view of this, he was not big enough to resign or take a territory off the struck lines where conditions were such that they met with his approval, and thereby give the men on strike the benefit of having someone on the line that they could look to for real leadership, someone that would have put a sincere and earnest effort in the fight.

For two or three years Mr. Ames remained on the strike zone as the General Manager of the Association, during which time he sat idly by and saw the movement gradually die. As Jack Buckalew mentioned in one of his letters, after visiting Omaha in 1912: "I am sorry to see so little interest in the movement out here on the Harriman Lines." This was in Walter Ames' territory. With conditions as degenerate as they were in the strike zone, Walter Ames never raised his voice in protest; first, because, as he admitted, he was against

the strike, and second, he knew the attitude of the administration in Washington regarding the strike, and did not dare to say anything at the time that would interfere with his friendly relations with the machine.

But now that Ames did not receive favorable mention as a slate member on the Johnston underground political machine, and his seat as a commissioned officer of the Association was placed in jeopardy, then Mr. Ames himself joins what he once was pleased to term the irresponsibles and airs the secrets of the Association. I have no reason to doubt the statements and charges as made by Mr. Ames in his foregoing letter of March 31, 1917, and I cannot guarantee their truthfulness, for Mr. Ames' record as taken from the blue prints of the strike indicates that his word is not worth one iota more than the rest of the Grand Lodge officers.

There is, however, one thing certain, and that is that Mr. Ames aired the secrets of the Association, and as he was not expelled for airing same, he either made Mr. Johnston an acceptable apology, or Mr. Johnston has overreached on his constitutional authority in suspending me from the association for violating the same obligation that Mr. Ames apparently violated.

Bloomington Lodge No. 342, where I held my membership in the Association, protested against Mr. Johnston's action in regard to my suspension, and requested him to give me a trial as outlined in the constitution, that is, to prefer his charges against me, through their lodge, and set a date for the trial, then come and prove his charges and give me an opportunity to put up a defense. But, of course, Mr. Johnston paid no attention to their demand upon him, for this would have put him up against the same danger line that he had to stand up against so shamefully with his delegation in Kansas City in the trial of "Johnston vs. Kline," and, again, he would be taking a chance to win or lose. In my case he was going to play the safe side, give me no trial, regardless of what specifications the constitution may carry on this subject.

Why President Kline and the Blacksmiths' organization should be granted a trial in Kansas City, I am unable to understand, when decisions can be handed down without trials or any respect for established rudiments of law. However, in the Blacksmiths' organization there was some financial strength. This would have been pressed into service for President Kline had not a trial been conceded to him, and Mr. Johnston was well aware of the fact that back of me was nothing but an independent and liberty-loving mind, that would ask for no favors and give none. Should the same partiality be shown by a judge of the civil courts, as the partiality shown President Kline of the Blacksmiths by Mr. Johnston compared to myself, because back of Kline was an organization and money, and back of me was neither money nor organized effort. Then imagine, if you can, Mr. Johnston and his payroll patriots that make up the "machine" shaking their auburn locks and protruding their hands in the atmosphere of the lodge rooms and pulpits of this country, calling for a revolution as a possible means of protest against the apparent injustice. But, when Mr. Johnston and his "machine" pull off a job of this nature, that no judge in the civil courts would dare to do, then such is accepted as the law and a legitimate transaction.

Having been informed that Bloomington Lodge No. 342, I. A. of M., had written a letter to President Johnston demanding that I be given a trial in compliance with the Machinist constitution, I wrote them the following letter:

CHICAGO, ILL., July 31, 1916.

MR. ED. McCLELLAND,
103 E. Walnut St., Bloomington, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: I am herewith enclosing you one dollar for dues for the month of July, 1916.

I note from your letter of June the 13th that Lodge No. 342 will decline to carry out President Johnston's order of expulsion, until the International President grants me a trial as per the constitution.

I am glad to know that I hold membership in a lodge that demands the constitutional protection for its members. I am,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) CARL E. PERSON.

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The following letter is a reply from the Secretary of Lodge No. 342, I. A. of M.:

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., Aug. 1, 1916.

CARL PERSON.

Dear Sir and Brother: In reply to your letter of the 31st in which you enclosed \$1.00 and due book in payment of July dues, will say that I am compelled to return same to you, because we fear that our lodge will be suspended if we do not comply with President Johnston's instructions.

I regret, as does every other member of No. 342, the rank injustice that has been done you—to throw you out without a trial, after all you have done and suffered for organized labor. Our lodge has gone the limit to get justice for you. When Johnston ordered your expulsion in May, we protested and demanded you be given a trial, we also urged the Executive Board to see that you were given a square deal, but without success.

When appeal was taken to Baltimore, we instructed our delegate to go the limit in your case, which we believe he did. He reported to us that a machine controlled the convention and that your matter was not given a fair hearing, the delegates were kept ignorant of the facts, and action upon our demands for a trial for you was denied by steam roller methods. Our delegate complained he could not get a proper hearing and your case was rushed through at the tail end of the convention.

Now there is no doubt that our whole lodge will be expelled by President Johnston unless we refuse to take your dues. I very much regret to have to return the \$1.00 and your due book you sent me, but in order to protect the members of No. 342, I must do so. Anyone who knows anything about the case, knows that it is an outrage.

With very best wishes, I beg to remain,

Your friend,

(Signed) E. R. McCLELLAND,
Financial Secretary No. 342, I. A. of M.

We now find that President Johnston threatened to suspend the entire Machinists' Lodge at Bloomington, which is made up of several hundred members, for questioning President Johnston's authority to suspend me without a trial, as outlined in the constitution. For fear that such action would be taken, Bloomington Lodge surrendered the right of a trial for its membership. This was, however, not the first time President Johnston had threatened to suspend an organization for failure to carry out his instructions, as we will remember that Secretary W. A. Moore was notified that the entire membership of District No. 21 would be expelled from

the Machinists if that District co-operated with the Federation in handling the strike.

The International Association of Machinists held a convention at Baltimore on June 26 to July 8, 1916, inclusive. Bloomington Lodge No. 342, I. A. of M., decided to take the matter of my suspension without a trial before the Baltimore convention, and Mr. J. J. Meagher was sent as this delegate, to lay this matter before the convention. Mr. Johnston had, of course, received advance notice that a delegate was coming to the convention from Bloomington and appeal to the convention for a trial in my case. As Mr. Johnston had before decided that I should stand suspended without a trial, it became necessary for him to patch up the fences of his machine, with the view in end that this convention would approve of his already handed down decision of suspension without a trial.

I could cite several authorities, as information, regarding Mr. Johnston's process of patching up his machine so that his decision of suspension without a trial would be substantiated, but let us accept the following as sufficient on this subject: Mr. A. J. Kearney, who was a delegate from Covington, Ky., representing Lodge No. 125, I. A. of M., to the Baltimore convention, made the following statement at a gathering in Peru, Ind., on April 1, 1916:

When I and my wife arrived at the hotel in Baltimore on Saturday before the convention, we were met by First Vice President J. F. Anderson and Executive Board Member Savage. As soon as we came in, Anderson asked me to take a walk with him. I started out with Anderson and Savage came along. The first thing they asked me was, "What do you know about the Person case?" I told them that I did not know anything about the Person case. Anderson and Savage then commenced to tell me a much different story of the Person case than I have heard here (in Peru, Ind.) this afternoon, and it was Anderson and Savage that gave me such information that persuaded me to vote against giving Person a trial. I knew Anderson from St. Louis and had confidence in him since our association in the Missouri, Pacific and Iron Mountain strikes.

We learned from Mr. A. J. Kearney something about the reception the delegates were given in arriving in Balti-

more, and this was as early as Saturday, the convention not going into session until Monday morning. If Mr. Kearney was met upon his arrival in Baltimore and lined up on the Person case, have we not good reasons to think that the other delegates were also approached on the Person case and lined up before the convention went into session? Of course, Messrs. Anderson and Savage were not the only committee lining the worthy brothers up on the Person case.

During the progress of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes, Mr. J. F. Anderson drew approximately \$7,705.02 from the Association's treasury, and in addition, Mr. Johnston and the Board were kind enough to Mr. Anderson to allow him to put in a bill for expenses incurred in moving his household goods of \$125.77, which was also charged to the Grand Lodge treasury (reference, Secretary Preston's financial reports for the month ending June 30, 1915). And Mr. T. J. Savage dug down into the treasury of the Association for a little pin money amounting to approximately \$840.23 during the progress of the strikes (reference, Secretary Preston's financial statements for 1911 to 1915), money some of which was confiscated by the Grand Lodge from the men on strike. It can readily be understood why they were out lining up the boys as early as Saturday before the convention for their boss, Mr. Johnston.

Mr. Meagher, the delegate to the convention from Blooming Lodge, can give us a little more information on the situation at the convention. He makes the following report:

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., June 18, 1916.

MR. CARL E. PERSON,
440 S. Dearborn St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Carl: I served you as best I could at the Baltimore convention, but there wasn't a chance to get justice, as the cards were stacked against you by the Johnston machine. I enclose a copy of the "slate" which was arranged by the machine for the election of the different committees.

Your case had to be taken up before the Committee on Appeals and Grievances. The members as arranged on the slate for this committee were H. L. Brunson, Lodge No. 308; Victor Gauthier, Lodge

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No. 105; H. W. Harper, Lodge No. 438; William Schoenberg, Lodge No. 337; J. Stephenson, Lodge No. 477. You will note by the minutes that all of the slate members were elected as the Committee on Appeals and Grievances.

I asked H. J. Brunson, chairman of this committee, for a hearing on the Person case at least five times, starting immediately after the committee had been elected. The delegates who wished to see you get a trial did not have an opportunity to appear before the Committee on Appeals and Grievances until Friday, June 7, 1916. The convention adjourned June 8, 1916.

When the case was brought before the convention, I urged the convention to use common sense, and at least be as fair as our courts, who give everybody and anyone a trial, regardless what the charges are, but the machine turned a deaf ear to this appeal. After President Johnston had finished, I asked for permission of the floor, which was denied me by J. F. Anderson, then acting as chairman of the convention.

I suggest that you take this matter into the civil courts. Surely a court of law would rule that a person is entitled to a trial in a labor organization, especially when the constitution of such labor organization gives him such a guarantee.

I am,

Respectfully yours,

J. J. MEAGHER,

Delegate to the Baltimore Convention of the I. A. of M.,
from Lodge No. 342, of Bloomington, Ill.

From Delegate Meagher we can understand that the machine was oiled up for the occasion. We are now in a better position to understand the decision as rendered by the Committee of Appeals and Grievances. Let us see who this committee was, who was slated for this commission, and later put over by the machine.

The case was taken up with the Appeals and Grievances Committee, a committee of five of which at least three of the members are main pillars in the Johnston machine. A gentleman by the name of H. L. Brunson was elected chairman of this committee, a delegate to the convention from St. Louis, Mo., who also sat at the shoulders of Mr. Johnston during my exhibition in court at Kansas City. Imagine the possible chance of getting justice from him. No doubt, he also signed the petition circulated in Kansas City requesting my expulsion, because the machine was defeated there. Should you have the opportunity to make St. Louis some time, drop around and look at him from a distance. He reads law,

and can be seen around Lodge No. 308, I. A. of M., protesting against the injustice of the working class. He also parades around as a revolutionist.

Mr. Victor Gauthier, from Lodge No. 105, of Toledo, Ohio, received a few dollars during the progress of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike, some of which was confiscated by the Grand Lodge from the strikers (reference, Secretary Preston's financial reports, 1911 to 1915), and is one of the main stems in the Johnston machine.

Mr. Wm. Schoenberg, of Lodge No. 337, Chicago, also drew on the Grand Lodge treasury during the strike. He is employed as Business Agent in Chicago, and can be depended on to remain loyal to the machine under any and all circumstances. He can be seen at the meetings of the Chicago Federation of Labor, protesting against injunctions and injunction judges, even though it is impossible to find any place a decision as inconsistent and unjust as rendered by himself at the Baltimore convention.

The following decision was rendered by the Committee of Appeals and Grievances (reference, page 142, Convention Proceedings, I. A. of M., 1915), and reads as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON APPEALS AND GRIEVANCES

Person Case.—The Committee on Appeals and Grievances, through the chairman, Delegate Brunson (308), made the following report in regard to the suspension of Carl E. Person:

PERSON CASE

We, your committee, having heard all of the evidence in the case of the suspension of Carl E. Person:

First, that the International President acted within the scope of authority vested in his office when he decreed the suspension of the appellant, Carl E. Person.

Second, we further find that the appellant, Carl E. Person, did make representations before the Kansas City convention of the R. R. Employes Department of the A. F. of L., held in April of the present year, which were not justified nor supported by facts, and which were in the judgment of the committee calculated to do irreparable injury to our organization.

We, therefore, believe from the facts in the case, that the International President and General Executive Board did act in the inter-

est of preserving the integrity, prestige and good name of our Association, and upon sufficient grounds to justify such action.

We therefore recommend:

First, that the convention sustain the action of the International President and General Executive Board in suspending the appellant, Carl E. Person, from membership in our Association, and,

Second, that such suspension of the appellant, Carl E. Person, be and remain in full force and effect until he shall submit to the General Executive Board, in writing, satisfactory assurance from him that he, the appellant, shall refrain in the future from such conduct and shall not again be guilty of such or similar offense, as was the subject of this investigation and appeal; and further, that, upon presentation of such assurance by said appellant, in compliance with the above, that the International President and General Executive Board shall be and is hereby commanded to remove such suspension and reinstate the said appellant, Carl E. Person, to full membership in the I. A. of M., and the General Executive Board and International President shall, when the foregoing requirements have been complied with, cause to be sent out to the entire membership such written assurance of the appellant, together with the decree removing his suspension and restoration of the said Carl E. Person to full membership in our association.

Committee:

H. L. BRUNSON,
Chairman.

V. S. GAUTHIER,
Secretary.

H. HARPER.
JOHN E. STEPHENSON.
WM. SCHOENBERG.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

This committee, through its chairman, H. L. Brunson, of St. Louis, says that I had made statements at Kansas City calculating to do irreparable injury to the Association. That is and was true, providing Mr. Johnston and his "machine" are the Association. If, however, the men that suffered in that long strike and those who paid assessments for the strike and had their money confiscated by the Grand Lodge are the Association, then my calculations were to benefit the Association by pointing out those who were responsible for the wrecking of the System Federations on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines.

Mr. A. O. Wharton, President of the Railway Department, was there as a witness for Mr. Johnston before this

committee, and substantiated the fact that the Grand Lodge officers had been called social criminals and some other phrases used by me in Kansas City that did not seem to meet with their approval. Of course, there was nothing said by Mr. Wharton or Mr. Brunson, who were also at the Kansas City trial, that I proved in Kansas City and substantiated by facts that the Grand Lodge during the strike played the part of social criminals, and because of this very fact Mr. Kline of the Blacksmiths won his case.

Any aggregation of Grand Lodge officers that would "trim" some thirty-eight thousand men in a strike are well worthy of the name "social criminals." And we proved our case at Kansas City that the strikers were "trimmed" and "trimmed" by their own Grand Lodge officers. Or why was Mr. Kline and the Blacksmiths' organization not expelled from the Railway Department? Then, if the phrase "social criminals" was used in its proper place, I am strong for letting it remain there.

If the convention was going to try me in Baltimore, and Mr. Wharton as President of the Railway Department was to testify there from the other side, as well as Mr. Johnston himself, should not that convention also give me an opportunity to be there with my defense? Assuming that you were accused of robbing a bank by anyone, and you found out that your case was tried yesterday, and you were convicted and found guilty without knowing there was any such a trial on, what would you think? You have to get into the labor movement to find such procedure. In courts of law it is required that the defendant be represented.

Chairman H. L. Brunson, in fixing the penalty before the convention at Baltimore, however, asks them to be very considerate, and this convention was considerate. They asked me to do something that President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, was asked to do by a judge on the supreme bench, and he told the judge that he would go to jail first before he would apologize for a statement that he

was justified in making. Mr. Gompers, and Mr. John Mitchell, formerly President of the United Mine Workers, with Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, were arrested and tried for violation of a Federal injunction issued out of St. Louis, Mo., in 1905. These gentlemen were given a trial. After they were found guilty, the cases were appealed, and went through all the channels of the courts up to the Supreme Bench. When the Supreme Court of the United States said that if they would make an apology, their cases would be dropped, the decision of Mr. Gompers was that making an apology would be an admission of being guilty, and he would go to jail before he would admit being guilty for something that he was not guilty of.

But here was the Machinists' convention in session at Baltimore, with a proposition asking me to do something that Mr. Gompers, Mr. Morrison and Mr. Mitchell refused to do, because doing such would be an admission of guilt. But remember, these gentlemen had received several trials on their cases, and I had received none. Chairman H. L. Brunson of this committee, before the convention at Baltimore, said that they were not asking me to apologize, but send in written assurance to the Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists, assuring them that I would never again do that which I was accused of doing. And Mr. Brunson states this is not an apology, simply a satisfactory assurance. Mr. Gompers was pleased to call it an apology before the Supreme Court, and he was not even asked to make a written statement to the court; simply an oral promise.

Of course, it was not the Supreme Court handling my case; in this event, I would have received a trial, and several of them. My case was handled by Mr. Johnston's well-oiled "machine," and those who are pleased to be termed as the brains of the labor movement. Their bible is "the concern of one is the concern of all," and they came and asked me, who had been hardened by experience, to do something that even the President of the American Federation of Labor had

conceded was disrespectful. Asked me to refrain from doing in the future that which I had done in the past, and this before they had given me a trial. I could only carry out such instructions by becoming a scab and by allowing Grand Lodge officers to panhandle the labor movement in which I was a stockholder myself. And this I refuse to do at the behest of the Machinists' organization or anyone else. If I were as weak as all this, then, of course, I would have gone back to work in 1911 for the Illinois Central Railroad Company several weeks after the strike was called, when the labor leaders started to sing the song of a lost cause and wanted the curtains of their federated drama pulled down before its very nakedness would be discovered and placed to the test that they so profusely guaranteed it could stand before the strike was called by them.

The proceedings of this convention will show that there were not very many delegates there making a protest against this decision. It met with the general support of the large majority, supported by such people that can be seen going into the superintendent's office to take up the grievance of a discharged brother in the shop, and if the superintendent is as successful in soft-soaping them as Mr. Johnston and his "machine" was in Baltimore—and they generally are—then there isn't very much strength in these pillars that preach "in union there is strength."

I have tested the system from both standpoints, and a large portion of that element in which dependability is placed is very much like she, who was the queen of Barnum's rough riders. The boys from Tank Town, who were sitting on the bench under the tent eating cracker-jack, came to the conclusion that she was the most beautiful woman they had ever seen. Of course, the boobs never saw her in her nightgown in the morning, with her hair hanging on the chair, her pads on the floor, and her paint in the wash basin; therefore they did not know any better; they judged her from her haberdashery. So, too, the large element that get to conventions

are picked by the boys because of the clothes they wear, and the song they sing; but, after all, when you take their clothes off, and look at them as they really are, put an emergency test or two on them, you will find the large majority of them just like the queen of Barnum's rough riders, as she arises from her morning's slumber.

There are only a few that will stand the test—the test of time and endurance. The shrewd politician can swing them any way he wants to, just like the shepherd swings his flock of sheep from one pasture to another. The politician, of course, knows that he is putting it over, and the boys from Tank Town think it is great when they fall. All he has to do is to play to their large intelligence; then they fall and fall hard, and sometimes forget all about their cracker-jack while they are on their way to the ground.

During the strike I unfortunately was arrested a good many times. At frequent intervals the sheriff came and said, "Well, I just hate to do it, but I have to." And after I had spent a few days in the village hold-over, the judge sent me a notice that on a certain date my trial would come up, and we would talk the matter over and see who is right or wrong. Sometimes I had to wait a few days, and again seven or eight months; but regardless of the number of days I had on the waiting list, I could always look out through the bars and see where the spiders had woven the date of my trial on the dust-covered walls of the jail. And in all of the cases, after we had talked it over, the jury came in and said, "not guilty." The railroad company and the State's attorney were always good losers, and the worst they ever did was to get new papers out for my arrest as fast as they could, and fair enough to also grant me a trial on the coming charges. This is something that Mr. Johnston was too much of a coward to do. He feared that I would win and burden him and his "machine" with another shameful defeat, such as the one they had to carry away with them at Kansas City. But this is Mr. Johnston's conception of labor leadership.

After the Baltimore Machinists' convention of 1916, a protest came from many of the Machinists' lodges throughout the country in which they demanded that I be given a trial in accordance with the Machinists' constitution. This protest became so great that the Machinists' Executive Board decided to take the matter under consideration at their board meeting which adjourned in Washington July 28, 1917.

The Board members, Preston, Keppler and Hannon, had expressed themselves in favor of a trial. And in addition, Mr. Hannon stated to the members of Lodge No. 265 at Chicago that Board Member Ames also favored a trial in my case. That Ames would support the other Board members in such demand. Board Member Hannon made a motion before the Executive Board meeting of July, 1917, that the Association grant me a trial in compliance with their constitution. The motion was lost, Hannon, Keppler and Preston voting for a trial, and Johnston, Savage, Nicholson and Ames voting against such a trial. Mr. Ames, who had assured Hannon that he would vote for the trial, backed down on the proposition when the case came before the Board.

Mr. Ames is the gentleman who opened war on the Johnston machine and wrote the famous document out of Indianapolis, Ind., March 31, 1917. But in July of the same year, only four months later, he had buried the hatchet with the Johnston machine and voted as Johnston directed him to do. In fact, shortly after his document of March, 1917, he signed and approved of a letter which the Executive Board forwarded from the general headquarters in Washington, soliciting harmony and the good will of the membership. Nobody but a hypocrite would ask for harmony if the statements as outlined in his Indianapolis document were the truth. If the Association was as rotten as Ames would ask us to believe in this document, then any honest man would ask for war and war to the end. For only by a campaign of war in the organization could it be regenerated and the cancers that Ames speaks of eradicated.

After the Board meeting in July, when Ames arrived back in the West, he was often asked what action the Board took in regards to giving Person a trial. Ames said that the Board voted it down three to four, but that he voted in favor of the trial. He made this statement in Bloomington, Ill., while there representing the Association concerning the agreement between the Federation and the Chicago and Alton Railroad. He placed himself on record at the Board meeting, and when he met some of the boys in the West, he felt ashamed of himself and tried to lie out of it.

Ames was later informed that his record in Washington showed he did not vote for the trial, but against it. He tried to justify his position by stating that he was in favor of the trial, but if he had voted for it, Johnston would not have to vote on the case; therefore, he voted against the trial in order to place Johnston on record. This justification set up by Ames is humorous; just as if Johnston had not placed himself on record regarding my case before by suspending me without a trial and at the Baltimore convention.

In this case, were I forced to decide who the gentleman was, between Ames or Johnston, I should say Johnston, for he has at least the courage of his convictions in this case, and strong enough to wrap Ames around himself and use him as he saw fit. Ames did not even have the courage to come to Bloomington, Ill., and tell the truth. Out of all the skates in the labor movement, the Ames type is the most disgusting and dangerous.

Mr. Ames represented the Machinists during the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad strike of 1908. Here he was charged by the railroad company of moving a roundhouse from its foundation over night, and while the charge was pending he spent some little time in jail. Mr. Ames, however, received a trial. The county in which the accident took place went to a great expense to see that Mr. Ames received a fair trial on the complicity charges. And in this trial Ames proved to the satisfaction of the jury that he had nothing to do

with the moving of the roundhouse, so the jury found him not guilty.

Assuming now that the county commissioners and the county judge would have said that Ames was guilty of the charges preferred against him, and that holding of a trial would simply be a waste of money and time; that the cheapest way to dispose of the Ames case was to find him guilty, then what would have Ames said? And what would have been the opinion of the labor movement in general? Well, this is what Ames did in my application for a trial, with Messrs. Johnston, Savage and Nicholson. Of course, no judge or county along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad would do anything as inconsistent as this. This dirty work is left to the labor skates of the Ames-Johnston type.

The jury found Ames not guilty in moving roundhouses, and of course they could not bring in any other kind of verdict. People like Ames do not move anything in strikes. They occasionally drop from the limited trains, look up the captain of the pickets, want to know why the roundhouses are not moved, and why the bridge that spans the river is still carrying the trains across. When they are told that they are not handcuffed themselves, they give you the same answer as they do when they are asked to protest against some decision from the general headquarters—an answer something like this: "I, of course, as a Grand Lodge officer, cannot do that." They hide behind their title like a cripple in a wreck. The things that are moved in times of strikes are generally moved by the soldiers in rags. They are at least convicted and pay the price.

The strikers were well acquainted with Mr. Johnston's legal decisions. On January 25, 1913, Mr. Johnston and the other high chiefs issued an injunction against the *Strike Bulletin* that was published and owned by the Federation, the same Federation that was organized in Memphis, Tenn., in May, 1911. A notice of this injunction was sent to every local lodge of the organizations affiliated with the Railroad

Department, and such injunctions were issued without a trial for the strikers; they had no opportunity to make a defense of any kind; they were not aware of the fact that the injunction was to be issued until every lodge in their jurisdiction was served with the notice. And these people pretend to be labor leaders, and protest against injunction judges of the civil government, when there is no place in the annals of any government where they can point to find decisions as inconsistent as their own.

On March 25, 1915, Mr. Johnston and his associated chiefs in the Railway Department, with the approval of Chief Justice A. O. Wharton, of the Railway Department, again issued an injunction against the *Strike Bulletin*, owned, controlled and published by the Federation—the men that they instructed to go on strike—and served a notice of such injunction upon their affiliated lodges. The strikers were given no chance to come before this court, that it could be decided if the injunction was justified; the men on strike knew nothing about the intentions of the injunction until it was executed and served. And when these labor leaders stand on the by-ways making their campaign speeches, they besmirch the character of ex-President Taft, and point to him as the father of the injunctions. If, however, such is the case, they are the loyal children and following the footsteps of their ardent father. In the performance they have become much more efficient, insofar as serving injunctions, than Mr. Taft could have wished to be if he lived several centuries.

On March 25, 1915, I was indicted and convicted as a forger by the Railway Department, in which Mr. A. O. Wharton sat as the presiding judge. This decision was reached and I stood convicted before the entire labor movement of this country, without the slightest notification that there were any charges against me whatever. I knew nothing about it until every lodge affiliated with this court of the Railway Department had been served with a notification of my conviction. No court in any civil government from the

Roman Empire to the present date in democratic U. S. A., has ever rendered such decisions under such circumstances, and I challenge anyone from the pale-faced philosopher to the most learned jurist to find a comparison anywhere in the courts of the civil governments. You may ask the why for of all this. I can only say, it was because I stood there with my comrades paying the price in a social crisis that this court alone was responsible for, and because I refused to accept with grace their smiles when I was asked to become a traitor to my fellows and play the game in accordance with the established regulations of a well-oiled "machine." Had I been willing to surrender my ideals and the comradeship of those who had suffered and paid the price, I, too, could have stood at Kansas City in a frock coat at the expense of those who were deserted. I could have stood there nourished by the taxation of those who so submissively accept the decisions from this court of injustice.

Why should I expect a trial from Mr. Johnston and his machine, when I was so well aware of the decisions he had rendered against me and the men on strike, long before the trial at Kansas City took place. Well-meaning individuals would say, "But Mr. Johnston has to give you a trial, for the constitution specifies that such is the law." Then I could stand there and laugh to my "inner self," because they did not know any better and placed so much dependability on the constitution, when the constitution is only for Mr. Johnston to stand on when the crowd gets outside of the fence. For did not the crowd stand by during the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strikes and say nothing, while Mr. Johnston and his "machine" drove outside of the constitution, tore the very foundation from under it, and robbed the labor movement of everything that was fundamental, while the crowd stood there in smiles and accepted it with the same submissiveness that the serfs in the landed estates of Europe accept the decisions of the wealthy land-owning lords.

Some of the courts I have had experience with, under the

cloak of organized labor, have a long way to travel as yet before they even reach that stage of fairness that is displayed in the court rooms of the civil government.

You can see them there, all getting a trial before his honor the judge, and a jury trial, if they so desire, whether it is the Fifth Avenue millionaire, who is in the line-up for violation of the traffic ordinance, or the maiden in the morals court, or the drunks and the smooth-fingered artists that snatch a widow's purse on the avenue. They are all granted the same right, whether you see them before his honor at the criminal court across the river, or down from the shadows of Trafalgar Square, back of the stone-paved streets of Petrograd, or in the line-up that was extracted from the midnight crowds of old Paris. You may search the capitals of Europe and the cities of the U. S. A. from Harlem to Frisco, and I challenge anyone to find such exhibits of autocracy as I found and felt the effect of within the courts of the so-called progressive International Association of Machinists while under the direction of its chief justice, Wm. H. Johnston, and in the Railway Department under the dictatorship of Chief Justice A. O. Wharton.

PART VII

CONCLUSIONS

THE POLICY OF FEDERATION DEFENDED

AT THIS part of our records there is only one possible indictment that you can serve against myself and the men on strike. This possible indictment could be served against us for our loyalty to the principles of unity of action. Our object was to handle the strike along centralized efforts, towards a centralized direction. If the idea of centralization of action in the handling of the strike, so frequently termed federation in this story, were not conducive to the best possible results, then, indeed, I have committed a crime against the labor movement which is unforgivable. As we have now learned, I refused to compromise with movements and individuals on the principle of unification in the handling of the strike, and all matters in relation thereto.

During the strike there were many who denounced the principle of federation and unification. Their policy was to obtain success and victory by adhering to the law of classification and individual craft efforts. We have met several of such characters in *The Lizard's Trail*. What position they are in to defend themselves and the line of action they supported during the strike, that concerns me but very little. To defend the position I took in demanding the unification of all movements implicated in the strike, that I have given my best efforts to do in this book. It will strengthen my position and the men on strike to set up some additional evidence in defense of the principles of centralization, unification, federation and co-operation. If it shall be your decision that I was the irresponsible individual in the case by demanding unified action,

then there are a few other irresponsibles who are the adherents of the same school that I want you to meet. They were not associated in the strikes on the Illinois Central and Harri-man Lines, but they are engaged in defending the principles of federation and unification in other avenues of action.

The *Chicago Examiner* of November 17, 1917, page 1, makes the following statement:

U. S. DEMANDS UNIFIED WAR PLAN

ALLIES ARE WARNED TO UNITE OR STEP ASIDE

(By H. H. Stansbury)

Washington, Nov. 16.—Every development here today indicated that the Paris conference must reach an agreement to form an interallied war council with supreme powers or the United States, through its control of finances and supplies will take over the direction of the war.

This government will not be satisfied with an agreement which does not give the proposed war governing body authority over strategy, war finance, shipping and all matters pertaining to supplies.

The exclusive purpose of the Paris conference, which will begin deliberations Monday, is to determine on a system of central control for making war more effectively.

PEACE TALK TABOO AT PARIS CONFERENCE

It has been agreed at the preliminary meetings between the representatives of the interested nations that no peace proposals or "war aims" shall be discussed.

Lord Northcliffe's statement that his only criticism of the Lloyd George administration was the treatment accorded America was explained by the authority through whom the foregoing facts became available.

England refused to heed the advice of Northcliffe and ratify findings of the Paris conference held in the latter part of July. This meeting between English, French, Italian and Russian representatives was called to bring about co-ordination between the allied government in demanding and expending money available only in the United States.

BRITAIN WANTS TO HOLD WAR PURSE STRINGS

The substance of England's refusal was that to relinquish the control of financial matters to any board or council amounted to relinquishment of the most essential power of government.

It is declared here that the United States saw the imperative need of an interallied war council, such as is now demanded during the early part of the summer.

England, France, Italy and Russia were all sending missions asking for money. They wanted as much as they could get. It is said the individual demand of each country appeared to have but little, if any, regard for the requirements of the other.

The allies at that time were represented officially by Lord Northcliffe,

England; M. Andre Tardieu, France; Ambassador Bakhmetieff, and Ambassador Di Cellere, for Russia and Italy.

RIVAL WAR MISSIONS OUT AS COMPETITORS

Each foreign mission bore down on Secretary McAdoo of the Treasury Department with all of their powers and went about the country creating propaganda in favor of their demands. The situation created at the Treasury Department is said to have been most confusing and conflicting.

Secretary McAdoo sent for the representatives of the four European powers and requested them to urge their respective governments to get together on some predigested, co-related plan concerning their needs. Lord Northcliffe and M. Andre Tardieu strongly favored the suggestion and undertook to carry it out.

The answer which came back was in effect that a joint plan of action would be all right for the future, but that the immediate demands must be met or great sacrifices would be the consequence.

U. S. PROTESTS IGNORED

On July 19, when money was continuing to flow to Europe in an uncontrolled stream, Secretary McAdoo wrote a letter to Northcliffe, Tardieu, Bakhmetieff and Di Cellere, which he asked be transmitted to their governments. The substance of this communication was that something must be done to rectify the muddled situation. He declared that the United States officials were being forced to arbitrate conditions and a situation of which they had very little first-hand knowledge.

The McAdoo letter contained the statement:

"I speak with the authority of the President."

When this communication reached Europe, supported by the recommendations of Northcliffe and Tardieu, representatives of the European allies were directed to meet in Paris and work out a solution of the entire problem of finance and supplies. The agreement reached at the conference was entirely satisfactory to the United States.

But it never became effective. The announcement made at the time was that one government had failed to ratify it. Additional details were never made available to the public. The subject has been held in abeyance since that time.—*Chicago Examiner*, November 17, 1917.

The foregoing newspaper article is interesting for many reasons, for it places the United States Government in relation to the war in the same position that I stood in during the strike. Secretary McAdoo informs us how the different war commissions came with their propaganda for funds. None of them were concerned any further than to get all they could for themselves. Let us now reverse our attentions back to President Johnston and the rest of the characters in the lizard's trail. We find that there is a large resemblance between the war commissions that Secretary McAdoo is speaking of, and the Grand Lodge officers. The only possible difference can be that the

war commissions were ignorant of the motive powers that could be obtained through unification of efforts and the Grand Lodge officers in the lizard's trail were not.

The war in Europe had been in existence for three years. During this time the Italians were not concerned about any one but the Italians; the French for France; and the British for Great Britain, and while this international drama of individuality and selfishness was being played, their lines weakened to the extent that Von Hindenburg and Von Ludendorf who were strong adherents of unification and centralization crossed the Italian lines, and brought their armies through the Alps in on the Venetian plains and told their soldiers that Venice was theirs for the taking.

So, too, during the strike. The Machinists were only concerned about the Machinists; the Boilermakers for the Boilermakers; the Carmen for the Carmen; and while they played this selfish drama of ruin and disaster, Markham and Kruttschnitt weakened their lines and told the scabs that the jobs of the union men that had left them *were theirs for the taking*.

Federation among the Grand Lodge Presidents during the strike was as much of a camouflage as the term allies was between the French, British, and Italians. In fact, the participants in the war did not know the meaning of the term allies until President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo told them that they had to unite in the interest of all concerned.

The Grand Lodge Presidents, too, did not understand the term federation during the strike, and when I called their attention to the apparent danger because they disrespected unified effort, they refused to recognize the warning and therefore the men on strike eventually had to pay the inevitable price of defeat. The Grand Lodge Presidents surrendered their armies to the enemies in May, 1915, by declaring the strike off.

The following are extracts from a Paris speech made on November 12, 1917, by Premier Lloyd George, of Great Britain, and printed in the *Chicago Tribune* for November 13, 1917. Let us therefore hear from Lloyd George:

As far as I am concerned, I had arrived at the conclusion that, if nothing was changed, I could no longer accept the responsibility for the direction of a war condemned to disaster from lack of unity. Italy's misfortune may still save the alliances, because without it I do not think that even today we would have created a veritable superior council.

The war has been prolonged by particularism. It will be shortened by solidarity. If the effort to organize our united action becomes a reality I have no doubt as to the issue of the war. The weight of men and material and of moral factors in every sense of the word is on our side.

The Paris speech of Premier Lloyd George, of which the above is but an extract, caused world-wide comment and was one of the great causes that led to the organization and recognition of a federation of the allies in the handling of the war. The governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and the others who associate as the allies were quick to recognize the value of the premier's constructive reasoning and at once subscribed to the principles of solidarity and unity of action.

I issued my declarations and demand for solidarity and unity of action in the war of the slaves that was fought on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines during the years of 1911 and 1915, inclusive, to the allied International Presidents of the organizations involved in a document dated January 25, 1913, and printed as part of these records. The war of the slaves was lost because of the failure of the allied Grand Lodge Presidents to recognize the very principles that could have written victory at the end of that strike, namely, the principles of solidarity and unity of action.

Let us hear from the President of the United States, who is credited with the following statement in the *Chicago Examiner*, November 19, 1917:

UNITED ACTION OF ALLIES TO WIN WAR URGED BY WILSON

Washington, Nov. 19.—The administration wants the war against Germany won, regardless of methods adopted. This was the explanation given today of President Wilson's cablegram sent to Colonel E. M. House approving the plan for a joint control and unity of action of the fighting forces.

Here we find President Wilson subscribed to the principles of federation and approved of a policy that had for its purpose the elimination of individual effort in so far as the handling of the great war was concerned. If the application of these principles of solidarity were conducive in bringing about the best possible results as far as the war was concerned, then would not the same be conducive in the handling of the strike?

The *Chicago Tribune* for December 16, 1917, states:

Washington, D. C., Dec. 15.—(Special)—A war council within the war department to “oversee and co-ordinate” all matters of army supply and to have general supervision over the armies in the field was created today.

Here we find that the Government has organized a federated committee through which the Government will handle everything pertaining to the war, and by this unified system be able to centralize all their efforts in a centralized direction, giving them the very best results obtainable. Here in 1917, then, is the great countries of Europe and the North American republic setting up as their standard the principles of co-operation and unification. The very principles that the Grand Lodge Presidents during the strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines regarded as an irresponsible and unbalanced code of economics. The very system of collective bargaining that Julius Kruttschnitt of the Harriman Lines made mention of before the Industrial Commission as a movement his company had made up their mind to fight at any cost.

The superior results obtained through unified action over classified effort became recognized by President Wilson to such large extent that in December, 1916, he issued his famous declaration taking over all railroads by the Government, and through it operate them as a unified system as one national railroad. This declaration by the President was one of the large events in history, for by it the old classified system of economics that such characters as Johnston, Wharton, Ryan, Buckalew, McCreery, Grace and other prominent figures in the lizard's trail were the principals of, received its great blow

of destruction. Here President Wilson tore the very foundation from under their classified church and sent it rolling down the mountain sides of time towards its final resting place in oblivion.

The *Chicago Tribune* for December 29, 1916, gives us the following information as to the Government operation of the railroads:

NEW BOARD BEGINS WORK

In his first order as director general, Mr. McAdoo constituted the members of the war board a temporary operating committee, instructed to continue the work they have been doing in co-ordinating the transportation lines for more efficient handling of war traffic. The members of this temporary operating committee are:

Fairfax Harrison, chairman, president of the Southern Railway.
 Julius Kruttschnitt, chairman of the board of the Southern Pacific.
 Samuel Rea, president of the Pennsylvania.
 Hale Holden, president of the Burlington.
 Howard Elliott, of the New Haven System.

The foregoing newspaper extraction is of interest because we find that Mr. Julius Kruttschnitt of the Southern Pacific has become connected with the Government operation of the railroads. Mr. Kruttschnitt is the very gentleman who denied the employees of the Harriman Lines the right to federate and operate their organizations as a unified system in 1911. He then declared that the policy of unification was not an efficient and constructive policy, and because of this disagreement between Mr. Kruttschnitt and the men employed on the Southern Pacific (Harriman Lines) a strike developed. Now, we find that in 1917, some six years later, even Mr. Kruttschnitt has become a convert of unification, and one so enthusiastic that the Government appointed him as a member on the committee of five to direct the Government's policy of unified operation of its new national lines.

What, then, was responsible for the great changes from classification to unification in Mr. Kruttschnitt? We have read a letter signed by all Grand Lodge Presidents under date of March 11, 1912, in which we are informed that the strike

was costing Mr. Markham and Kruttschnitt seven million dollars per month (\$7,000,000). It is possible that this seven million dollars a month expense due to the strike learned Mr. Kruttschnitt to appreciate the value of unified action. The strike run continually forty-five months, then if under the expense of seven millions per month, as we are told under the signatures of Johnston, Ryan and Franklin, the strike cost Mr. Kruttschnitt and Markham *three hundred and fifteen million dollars* (\$315,000,000). I am sure that you will agree with me that if this amount was appropriated by the railroads to enable Mr. Kruttschnitt to determine the merits and demerits in the law of unification, then, indeed, Mr. Kruttschnitt should be an efficient and capable commissioner for the Government in directing the unified operation of national railroads.

Now that I have added to the records such prominent deciples of unification as the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States, with the documentary evidence that informs us that Premier Lloyd George, of Great Britain, Secretary McAdoo, of the treasury and general director of the Government's national railways, with President Wilson as staunch supporters, then I have given the necessary respectability to that movement that the men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines fought for and went on strike for. No indictment, then, can be served against us for defending the very principles that the Government regards as a good one, and one that we have proven will give the best results obtainable.

SUMMARY

I have given you in the foregoing a few of the developments which came to the surface between the men on strike and their Grand Lodge officers. Enough so that my charges are fully substantiated that the men on strike were double-crossed and deserted by the very officers whose duty it was to assist them and help make the strike a success.

We have learned that an individual organization could not

secure anything during the year of 1911, and in many cases they were refused recognition. It therefore became necessary to organize as a federation and seek legislation from the railroads through the law of unified action. It is then important to be remindful of the fact that had not the men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines struck in 1911 they, or the men on some other road, would have had to strike some time later or surrender the conditions secured through years of organized effort.

We know that the International Organizations approved of the strike. That through the leadership and advice of the International presidents the strike took place. Shortly after it was called the Briggs House meeting in Chicago took place when President Ryan and others who had done so much to bring about the strike had changed their opinions and stood ready to desert those who they commanded to strike.

At the time of the Kansas City Convention of 1912 and during the time of the general strike vote, a large aggregation of strike breakers from the official families came out in the open and fought the efforts of the men on the general strike vote.

We saw the shadows of the two personalities of Jack Buckalew. When he was on the line and declared that the Machinist Grand Lodge confiscated the funds of the strikers. How he changed when his official position was threatened by Johnston and how he later approved of the confiscation methods. Our case against Jack as a traitor to the cause is complete.

The break at Water Valley was a well-laid plan to disrupt the federated movement for the price of a machinist contract, and it met with approval from some of the official families.

President Johnston's proposition to give the men on strike 25 per cent of the spoils out of the money confiscated from them, reads like the story of the bandit who robbed the old cripple woman of her last dollar, then offered to give her five cents for streetcar fare. She, too, refused to accept it.

While Conlon and Johnston were playing the dance of

death for Machinist District No. 21, we were successful in getting it back into action. For this service to the men on strike I was suspended. Any one who dared to do something in the interest of the strike was struck with the battering ram from Washington.

Of all the characters in the Lizard's Trail, President McCreery, of the Federation, was the most pitiable. Persuaded by the machinists to desert the Federation because the Federation insisted on a square deal for the members of the carmen's organization. The very organization which McCreery held membership in. To me he was a Judas, and to the men on strike a Benedict Arnold.

When the International presidents were solicited to give the men on strike their co-operation in January, 1913, they did not give the correspondence from the Federation as much consideration as the railroad companies did. The railroads answered all communications sent them by the Federation officials, even though they did not recognize the Federation. That was more than the Grand Lodge presidents did.

The Chicago frame-up for 300 jobs on the Illinois Central, with no consideration for the men on the Harriman Lines, stands out as the most treasonable conspiracy that was ever attempted to be executed any place. How well we remember who the promoters were.

In serving the injunction against the Strike Bulletin in 1913 President Johnston and Buckalew made an earnest effort to precipitate the Federation in the graveyard of the lost cause.

Wharton and Scott came to the front and threatened to declare war on President Johnston and the Machinist Grand Lodge. They, like their predecessors, Buckalew and McCreery, ran away from the movement to assist those who had taken the contract to wreck it.

President Johnston established his record in relation to the Federation in his letter to Secretary Moore of the Machinist District 21. That he was against the Federation was as

conspicuous as the green grass in the springtime. His attitude towards the Federation was as poisonous as the bite of the mountain rattler to its victim.

We met Omaha Sam. This helpless, selfish individual. He did not realize that the machinists were the aristocrats of labor until after the strike, and when he woke up to this conclusion he refused to associate himself with the other trades. It is a consolation to know that the Sam Grace type will be granted no special privileges from Mother Nature. When they are dead, with some few years to back it, no one will know that they were the aristocratic slaves, and but few will care.

Let us remember that the few men on strike and their friends overpowered all of the accumulated forces of the Grand Lodges during their drive of November, 1914, in which they tried to have the strike voted off through the referendum.

The Augusta resolution give us all the information we care to have to convict President Johnston as a dangerous enemy to free speech and free press. There is no place in the long drive from the period of the Dark Ages to modern times where any one has come to the front as a greater enemy to free speech and press than President Johnston did in regards to the Augusta resolution.

The strike that the men involved voted to continue, without strike benefits, was called off by the International officers. If the men were contented to continue the strike without benefits they should have been allowed to do so. By referendum they voted to strike and by referendum they voted to continue the strike. In the face of this the strike was declared off at the very time when the ammunition factories were begging for mechanics and willing to pay the best of wages; on the very eve of this country being involved in the war, with thousands of men leaving the country for Europe; declared off when the strike was about won and the men stood ready to celebrate the victory of the greatest strike in the history of the labor movement.

Grand Lodge officers made a joke of the entire labor move-

ment during their autumn drive. The scabs who had helped the railroad company to defeat the men on strike were solicited to become Union men for the price of a dollar and a half.

President Kline was scheduled for excommunication along with the blacksmiths' organization, because he would not become a party to their nefarious operations. The stage was well set to throw him and the blacksmiths out of the labor movement. But again the strike breakers were disappointed. President Kline fully substantiated his charges that the strikers were double-crossed and deserted by their own Grand Lodge officers, and that the money was there for those who wanted to take it.

I was scheduled to be driven out of the labor movement with President Kline. Arrangements were made for this as far back as 1912, when I refused to go along and help to chloroform the federated movement for a machinist contract. With every development that took place between the Federation and the Grand Lodge officers during the strike, new determination on their part was added to make my expulsion a success when the proper time arrived.

I went to Kansas City, Mo., as a witness for Jim Kline, to help him prove that the men on strike were drowned by the Grand Lodge officers like the sailor drowns his cats. They looked over my record and found that when I was threatened with suspension and expulsion they were told to get them ready as soon as possible. Buckalew was told to go to Hell. McCreery was put on the shelf. Johnston told to keep all of the money confiscated from the strikers rather than to accept the 25 per cent. Wharton could not induce me to silence the Strike Bulletin when the strike was scheduled to be called off. All this remained as an old sore in them. Then to help Jim Kline show how we were double-crossed, that was the climax of it all. In doing this my record, in their estimation, became so disgraceful that I did not merit a trial any more than the Strike Bulletin and the men on strike merited a trial when injunctions were issued against them during the strike.

Then came the Baltimore convention of the machinists, requesting an apology for what I had done during the strike; asking this without first giving me a trial to determine if during the strike I did anything that could be considered wrong. Or if I said anything at Jim Kline's trial that were not facts.

So many facts were brought to the surface during Jim Kline's trial that they were afraid to print the minutes of the hearing and give it to the membership. That is the best evidence that the facts were against them. Had Jim Kline and the blacksmiths been expelled, and I unable to prove my assertions you may feel assured that the minutes of the trial would have been printed and sent to every local in the country. Business Agent Carr, of the Rock Island, would then conclude that the rank and file had more than enough sense to understand them.

To the delegates of the Baltimore convention who went on record as asking me to apologize, knowing as they did that I had not had a trial as outlined in the constitution. They can go to what Sherman said war was. I have never begged them for a trial and never will. This I am entitled to without any solicitation on my part. If the labor movement wants to sit idly by and see me robbed of my rights, they also have my permission to do so. I know that I did not sit idly by when the labor movement was in jeopardy and threatened by the strike breakers inside or outside of the labor movement. This story will support the statement that I fought the strike breakers in the labor movement when they were robbing it of its very vitality. And the court records will show that I did not sit idly by when the strike breakers from the bull pens placed the labor movement in jeopardy or intruded upon its rights.

The machinist convention which in 1911 called the strike and decided under the atmospheric curtains of oratory that it was necessary to strike to preserve the association, came to Baltimore in 1916 and asked me to apologize for abiding by their instructions in 1911. For not running away from the strike like thousand of others did. Indeed those who did not

abide by their instructions in 1911, but scabbed, were reinstated for a dollar and a half with no apology requested.

If the machinists' organization is so saturated with the Johnston-Wharton type of politicians that they were able to render a decision of this nature from the Baltimore convention and pull off the job they did in calling the strike off when it was about won, then it is an honor to be a suspended member, and as I wrote Pete Conlon during my suspension as secretary of District 21, that "I shall always refer with pride to its captivity."

It was said that the men on the Illinois Central and Harri-man Lines made a mistake by going on strike in 1911. Those who have said it have nothing to support their statements with. This strike was as necessary to the labor movement as the rain storms are to the wheat fields and the sunshine to the flowers. It was as unavoidable as the spring floods and the autumn winds. It was as certain to come sooner or later as death itself. Then what difference did it make whether it took place on the Illinois Central and the Harriman Lines, or the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul or some other railroad?

The same school of maudlin fools ridiculed the craft unions when they had their first strikes. Those of them who had their strikes and fought for their existence grew up and lived to a ripe old age. The unions who were too refined to strike have passed out of existence a long time ago. Mother Nature made no important accommodations for those who would not struggle for existence. A labor movement that will not strike to maintain its position is like a country which will not fight to maintain its boundary lines. They must pass out of existence, for such is the law.

The trade union movement did not grow up and take its important place in organized society because of the justice of its cause. It did not develop its strength through inactivity, but through its frequent strikes. The respectability of any movement is measured by what it can register on the balance

scales of strength. Every strike, large or small, won or lost, has forced those who are the enemies of labor to add another merit mark to its record, and by this method through the long struggle of the ages has developed its strength.

So, too, the federated movement had to fight for its place, and after securing it, must fight to maintain it. Any movement that will not do so will occupy no place of importance. The eagle did not develop its spurs by leaving its nest when it was in danger, or the lion its strength by deserting its cubs.

The year of 1911 was the transition period of the railroad shop crafts. The decaying individual crafts give birth to the federated movement. He who said that it was a mistake to demand for it a square deal was as dangerous as the doctor who allowed the new-born child to die for the want of the proper care. If the time ever comes that labor unions shall determine it a mistake to fight for its rights, it has played its last act in the burlesque of decay. Like the old Roman empire, it must pass out of existence and make room for the things in life, and matter that will struggle and fight for its rights.

There was no mistake made by going on strike, or the strike taking place, for out of this strike the federated movement blossomed into importance all over this country. Federated agreements were secured on railroad after railroad during the time that the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike was in progress. These federated agreements were not secured because the managements of the other roads liked the federated movement any more than the managements of the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. They were secured because the men on strike put up a fight for its principles that commanded respect.

When federated committees stepped into the general offices requesting a conference, this was granted them, and granted them because of the fact that it had cost C. H. Markham and Julius Kruttschnitt of the Illinois Central and Harriman railroads seven million dollars per month to refuse their federated committees a conference. Let it be fully understood that the

federated committees on the other roads were granted their conference for this reason and this reason only.

If the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines strike had not taken place, federated committees on other roads would have been told to go back to the woods, "that they baked down on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines in 1911 and have come again to put up the same kind of a bluff. How they surrendered on the Santa Fe and the L. & N." The entire record of defeat that sleeps in the yesterdays of the railroad shop crafts would be thrown at them, with the same ultimatum which the superintendent of motive power on the Chicago and Eastern Illinois made his federated committee, which was: "Take your proposed agreements home and frame them."

Had the men on strike surrendered and given up the fight for federation when the labor lizards drove in on them to accomplish their purpose, the general manager on the other roads would have said to these federated committees when they came and asked for a conference:

"We licked you on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines in a few months and can do the same on this road. You cried in despair for your stalls and will do the same here. You have neither determination or a fixed position. You do not realize that if you want anything better than what you are now getting you must first show that you are entitled to it, and this you failed to do on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. If you want to try it again on this road go ahead. We have money and men to fight you with, and you have nothing but a mob who will neither fight or support a fight."

After this ultimatum the federated committees could either go home and surrender the federated idea of organization or go on strike.

Thanks to the men on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines. They put up the fight for the federated movement, and while it is true that managers on other roads can say that "We licked you on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines," they know that this pleasure cost them seven million dollars a month,

three hundred and fifteen million dollars for the forty-five months of the strike.

Failure to win the strike can indirectly be charged to the membership of the organizations involved. They elected the men to office who deliberately prearranged defeat and disaster to the federated movement. So, if it must be said that mistakes were made, they were made by those who by their consent placed the social criminals in office and gave them the opportunity to panhandle the movement.

If the fight we put up for Federation is worth anything to those whose fortune or misfortune it shall be to stand guard over its principles, in the long drive on the *tomorrows*, do not permit the lizards outside or inside of the labor movement to rob it of the things that we fought to give it.

If we can now agree that the strike was instrumental in building up the federated movement, a large part of this credit can be attributed to the labor men who supported the federation, morally and financially. Without the moral and financial support it would have been impossible to make the strike as effective as it was made.

Many labor organizations helped to finance the strike on its inception. Voted to support it with assessments and donations as long as it would continue, just as thousands of men voted to strike and to stay on strike as long as it would continue. Many such labor organizations as well as strikers disappointed the movement. They were enthusiastic for the strike in the beginning, but when it was not won at the time they had predicted they deserted the federation and its principles.

The organizations worth while were the organizations who supported the strike and supported it to the end. Just as the strikers who were worth while were those who supported and backed it to the end.

I would feel ungrateful indeed should I fail to mention the Machinist Lodges at Danville, Ill., Silvis, Ill., and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. They supported the federated movement and supported it continually up to and including the month when the

strike was declared off. With all of the Grand Lodge emissaries on the road to keep money from the federation these lodges stood the test. They supported the federated movement, and this support was instrumental in keeping it alive, and assisted in putting up the fights we did against the crooks in the labor movement.

The strike represented the accumulated assistance of the men from the picket lines, to those who helped finance it. Every terminal point in the struck zone played its important and necessary parts, if they were carrying on the strike in compliance with the federated idea of unified action. So, too, every lodge in the country who contributed financially to the Federation was assisting in keeping the strike alive in its long run of forty-five continual months.

The federated movement will always be indebted to John Robertson, of Oakland, Cal., who served the Harriman Lines Federation as Secretary with credit to himself and the boys in the West. With Robertson were Stephen Taylor and Ed Merrill at Portland, Ore., who defended the cause of federation during its long and stormy career. When the evolution of things have completed the materialization of the dreamer's vision and the thinker's ideals it can be said that Robertson, Taylor and Merrill contributed more than their share.

Space does not permit to mention the names of those who stood back of the federated movement and supported it morally and financially, for they represent a small army of sincere and militant workers. No one will feel slighted if I mention Edwin Methe and his friends at Danville, Ill., for I know best the large support we received from them and how important their large and continual support was to the success of the movement. Had it been possible to secure the same support from a dozen other places in the country we would have moved the skates who were disrupting the federated movement much faster than it took us to move McCreery and Buckalew.

The federated movement can never repay James J. Meagher, L. M. Hawver and Lewis Nicholson for the service

they rendered it. Through all the stormy days from the inception of the strike until its end, these men stood at the throttle of action and defended the Federation and its principles. Had it not been because of their contribution to the cause it can well be said that the lizards would have bankrupted the federated movement shortly after the inception of the strike. I am personally indebted to Meagher, Hawver, and Nicholson for their loyalty to myself and the cause of federation. During my frequent trips to jail and court proceedings they were always there with their comradeship of assistance.

I am indebted to Attorney Frank Comerford, of Chicago, for his service to the men who were on strike and myself. Comerford's loyalty to the cause was responsible for the United States investigation of the strike, and his loyalty to me kept the Illinois Central and Dewitt county politicians from hanging me in the morning's misty dawn. This was a sad disappointment to many people, both outside and inside of the labor movement, to some of those who this book will be a disappointment to.

I have now given you a story which represents the most infamous frame-up that ever scandalized the labor movement, and the spirit of this autocracy still prevails. Individuals and lodges who dare to cross with the machine that holds the machinists' organization in its death grip are suspended. A thousand blows struck at labor by its enemies; a million injustices heaped on it by its foes, only stimulates the movement on its onward drive towards freedom. But one injury, one injustice done to labor by labor itself is deadly. It makes the precedent that justifies a whole train of wrongs and will in time, if allowed to continue, corrupt the entire movement.

To the men who were on strike, and stood the test of time and endurance, I want to say: I served you as good as I knew how. I did not compromise the federated movement. I gave you the best that was in me. I gave you my money and my time. I laid in jail and sat in the shadows of the gallows. I was on trial for my life in the civil courts and with the angry

mob. I did not surrender anything that was the property of you or me at either place. They stood ready to do their worst, and so did I. In both cases I won. I have made my mistakes—the mistakes I would willingly make over again for the results obtained; the mistakes that are necessary to accomplish anything; the mistakes that are made everywhere by everybody. Even as you make them at intervals in your efforts for yourself or others. Back of them are nothing but an honest effort towards accomplishment.

Here is to you my assurance that I will never apologize to Johnston, or his aggregation of politicians that made up the Baltimore convention, or any other crowd or individuals, without first securing the trial inscribed in my constitutional rights. And this the creeping cowards are afraid to grant me, for fear the labor movement would request them to stand trial for treason to the cause of the toiling masses.

I do not complain because of my own experience. I am nothing. But my experience brings to light the menace that confronts us all and makes the labor movement weak and meaningless. Even Johnston, Wharton, Ryan, Buckalew, or McCreery are not important enough to warrant attention, were it not for the fact that these men by and through their positions of leadership have made a mockery of the labor movement. Judas was only important as symbolizing the frailty of man, as Benedict Arnold is only important as an illustration of the depravity of the traitor. So these men without vision,—without conscience, and without sincerity, have bankrupted the choicest hopes and ideals of the movement and brought despair and tragedy to the suffering Solidarity of Democracy.

THE END

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